

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE
1945-50



PANDIT NEHRU PRESENTING TO SARDAR PATEL A SILVER TROPHY MOUNTED WITH A REPLICA OF THE PLANE IN WHICH THE LATTER TRAVELLED TO JAIPUR IN APRIL 1949. THE SARDAR HAD A MIRACULOUS ESCAPE WHEN THE PLANE DEVELOPED ENGINE TROUBLE AND FORCELANDED ON A RIVER BED

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

1945-50

VOLUME VIII

FOREIGN POLICY IN EVOLUTION—CONSTITUTION-
MAKING—POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

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FOREWORD

The correspondence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in ten volumes covers a crucial period in India's history: 1 October 1945 to 13 December 1950, two days before his death in Bombay.

The letters and annexures consist of exchanges between Sardar Patel on the one hand and Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, rulers of Princely States, Premiers of Congress Ministries and scores of Congressmen belonging to the party rank and file, on the other. These relate to various matters which arose in the domestic, international, constitutional, administrative and economic spheres in this period and thus constitute valuable source material of history. They were in the custody of Miss Maniben Patel, the Sardar's daughter, and were deposited by her with the Navajivan Trust in Ahmedabad after his death.

The Trust arranged, under her direction and supervision, to have them typed in Ahmedabad and send the copies to me for editing and compilation. The volumes are thus based on authentic copies of the correspondence deposited with the Trust.

Explaining the time-lag in releasing the correspondence, Maniben said in a long talk she had with me in New Delhi in late 1970 that she had held it back until she was certain that its publication would not be harmful to the nation for which her father had laboured and suffered so much. The letters contain matter relating to affairs of State and party organisation whose untimely disclosure might have embarrassed the Government or the political leaders of the day.

Since, however, some of the correspondence in the possession of other parties and relating to isolated events had been made public, she decided that the time had come to release the correspondence to give a balanced picture of the events to which they relate or of the Sardar's views. "I have been late," she said, "but not too late."

The Navajivan Trust, she added, had agreed to publish the correspondence and thus made it possible for the people of India and the world outside to have access to this valuable material which throws new light on the momentous developments of the period covered by these papers and the calculations made

by the leading personalities of the day in shaping the course of history.

The significance of the correspondence lies in the light it sheds on the main characters on the Indian stage as they acted and reacted to the challenges of the time and to the problems posed by their differing approach and outlook. There is indeed hardly a national or regional issue of consequence in contemporary history the origin of which cannot be traced to the five crucial years.

Vallabhbhai Patel emerges from the correspondence as a great organiser and consolidator of modern India. Over 70 when he assumed ministerial office for the first time, he carried on his ailing shoulders the crushing burden of building the political infrastructure of the new India. Death prevented him from completing his task, but what he achieved in five short years endures.

These volumes are the bones and sinews of Indian history of a crucial period. To the scholar and researcher, they offer a treasure of source material. To politicians, business men and administrators, they should serve as a guide. To the citizen, they provide inspiration.

Arrangements are in chronological order and not by topic. But the letters have been grouped thematically to retain interrelation of events and negotiations. Correspondence of a routine nature has been omitted and a few excisions have been made out of regard for the susceptibilities of the persons concerned. Such excisions are indicated by dots.

Where an extract or extracts from a letter are published, this is indicated by the word 'Extracts' at the top of the letter. The omissions have been effected by the persons entrusted by Maniben Patel and the Navajivan Trust with selecting the material for publication.

In several instances, letters, enclosures and other documents referred to in the published correspondence are not to be found in these volumes. It is hoped that future researchers will be able to fill these gaps.

The yardstick which the Sardar applied to public life and to political and socio-economic issues was forgotten or ignored by his successors with consequences which became apparent in the confused state of politics in the 1960s. India has again entered the most crucial period in the evolution of its polity. The stand taken by the Sardar on various issues and his vision of the road which India should take have acquired a new relevance.

Each volume of the series contains an outline of the contents of the other nine volumes in the form of a summary of the main features. This should help researchers ascertain at a glance what the whole series contains. The details of arrangements for selection and presentation of the correspondence were explained in the Foreword to the first volume, and are not therefore recapitulated here. The feature "*Focus on Sardar*" giving the views of Maniben Patel and the "*Chronology of Principal Events in Sardar's Life*" given in Volume I are being reproduced in succeeding volumes.

We owe a word of gratitude to the Sardar's daughter, Kumari Maniben Patel. After the Sardar's death, she preserved these papers with great care and readily agreed to their publication. Not only this, she had a hand in the meticulous scrutiny and compilation of these papers. By her efforts the authenticity of these records has been vouchsafed and the Navajivan Trust has been able to publish them with a sense of redeeming a part of its debt to the Sardar.

Since, in the line of duty I witnessed, chronicled, and even participated in many of the events of this stirring period, I was approached by the Trustees to undertake the arduous task of editing the voluminous correspondence. My colleagues have helped to process this vast accumulation of material with professional skill, arrange it thematically and make it meaningful to the average reader. For me and them it has been a labour of love. We also thank our aides and the staff of the Navajivan Trust for their assistance in bringing this massive undertaking to a successful close.

2, Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi 110001
3 March 1973

Durga Das

doctor intervened and cured him through an operation which he underwent without chloroform.

- 1912 Took final examination after sixth term instead of usual 12. Stood first in first class, winning a prize of £50 and exemption from two terms. Sailed for India the day after convocation.
- 1913 Reached Bombay on 13 February. Refused post in Judicial Department as a lecturer in Government Law School, Bombay, and left for Ahmedabad, where he established himself as foremost criminal lawyer.
- 1915 Member, Gujarat Sabha, which was converted into Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee in 1919.
- 1917 Elected member of Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Election challenged and set aside. Stood in a by-election and was returned unopposed. Mahatma Gandhi, president of the first Gujarat Provincial Conference, appointed an executive committee with Patel as secretary. Impressed by Gandhi's leadership of the agitation against the British indigo planters of Champaran, Bihar.
Conducted agitation against begar (forced labour for Government purposes). Led agitation against the appointment of a British member of the Indian Civil Service as Municipal Commissioner and secured his removal.
As Chairman of the Sanitary and Public Works Committee of Ahmedabad Municipality, stayed on in city when most of the citizens went away during an epidemic of plague. Took a leading role in helping sufferers and enforcing precautionary measures.
- 1918 Organised famine relief works in Ahmedabad district. Represented textile mill labour with Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker before a tribunal appointed to hear a dispute between labour and millowners.
Put up a temporary hospital in city with grant from Municipal Board to Gujarat Sabha to combat severe influenza epidemic. Organised no-tax campaign in Kaira district along with Gandhi. During campaign Gandhi said he was testing Patel, adding later that Patel had turned out to be "pure gold."
Helped Gandhi in recruitment drive for British Indian Army. They used to walk together for miles and cooked their own food.

- 1919 Chairman, Managing Committee, Ahmedabad Municipal Board.

Organised movement against Rowlatt Bills designed to strangle movement for self-rule. Led big demonstration march in Ahmedabad on 6 April and addressed public meeting against Bills. Sold publicly Gandhi's proscribed books *Hind Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*, and published *Satyagraha Patrika* in Gujarati without official declaration or permission. Government took no action.

Helped local authorities restore peace and order after large-scale disturbances leading to martial law in Ahmedabad after arrest of Gandhi.

Served with a show-cause notice for cancellation of his sanad (permit to practise law) for participating in a public meeting advocating satyagraha. Case ended with a warning. Refused to pay fine imposed by Government as penalty for riots in city. Sofa attached and auctioned for Rs. 100.

- 1920 Organised campaign of Congress Party in elections to Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Congress captured almost all elected seats. Discarded Western dress and adopted khadi dhoti, kurta and chappals. Burnt all his foreign clothes. Way of life also changed to traditional pattern in Gujarat. Organised a conference of political workers of Gujarat in Ahmedabad and persuaded it to adopt a resolution supporting Gandhi's civil disobedience movement. In response to Gandhi's call at Nagpur session of Congress to collect money for Tilak Swaraj Fund, promised to raise Rs. 1 million and enrol 300,000 party members in Gujarat. Fulfilled these promises within three months.

- 1921 Elected chairman of Reception Committee of 36th session of Congress held at Ahmedabad. For first time, delegates sat on floor and the session set new pattern in simplicity, austerity and businesslike proceedings. Built a hospital and maternity home on 21 acres of land along Sabarmati river at site of session. The fountain built at that time is still there.

- 1922 Government of Bombay suspended Ahmedabad Municipality after a sharp tussle over supervision of municipal

schools. Organised schools under People's Primary Education Board with public contributions. Municipality suspended. Collected Rs. 1 million for Gujarat Vidyapith in a tour which took him up to Rangoon.

1923 All-India Congress Committee deputed him to conduct satyagraha at Nagpur in connection with British District Commissioner's ban on flying national flag in cantonment area. Resisted Bombay Government's levy of punitive tax on people of Borsad who were charged with harbouring criminals. Tax withdrawn. Called Suba of Borsad.

1924 Ahmedabad Municipality reinstated. Fresh elections gave Congress Party a decisive majority in enlarged Municipal Council. Elected President of municipality.

1927 Passed a resolution giving notice to Ahmedabad Cantonment to pay water tax from 1920 at rate of eight annas. If tax was not paid, threatened to cut off water connection. Tax paid under protest.

Introduced khadi uniform in municipality. Municipal work was conducted in Gujarati after he became President. His scheme for supplying pure water passed.

Completed drainage scheme during term as President. Collected all arrears of municipal tax not paid by high officials, some well-to-do people and municipal councillors by cutting water connections and attaching properties.

Unprecedented rainfall caused great damage and hardship throughout Gujarat. Saved Ahmedabad from floods by getting culverts breached. Organised relief measures for flood sufferers with public contributions. Promoted grow-more food and fodder campaigns and opened shops to sell high-quality gram, cereal and cotton seed for sowing at low cost to farmers. Received more than Rs. 10 million from Government earmarked for famine relief. A new party emerged in Ahmedabad Municipality. Clashed with it over appointment of chief officer.

1928 Resigned presidency. Led peasant agitation in Bardoli taluka, Surat district, against increase in land revenue rates. Bombay Government punished farmers for non-payment by confiscating and auctioning land, crops and other property.

week of March. Helped Gandhi in his discussions with Viceroy (Lord Irwin) in Simla in last week of August on Congress participation in First Round Table Conference in London.

- 1932 Arrested at 4 a.m. on 4 January and taken by car to Yeravda and imprisoned with Gandhi there for 16 months. Mother died at Karamsad.
- 1933 Transferred to Nasik jail on 1 August. Elder brother Vithalbhaidied in Switzerland on 22 October. Rejected terms on which Government offered to release him on parole for two days to perform funeral rites.
- 1934 Developed serious nasal trouble in jail and released on 14 July. Issued statement accepting Gandhi's decision to leave Congress on 24 September. Congress decided at its annual session in Bombay in October to contest elections to Central Legislative Assembly. Undertook tour of many parts of country campaigning for party candidates. British Government allowed Jinnah to go to North-West Frontier. Sardar also sought and obtained permission to do so. But after going there was not allowed to visit Bannu district.
- 1935 Organised relief work in Borsad taluka where plague had broken out in four successive summers. Organised relief for victims of Quetta earthquake from Bombay, where he was laid low with jaundice.
Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, invited Sardar to a meeting and offered him premiership of Bombay Presidency, but added that land confiscated from farmers in Bardoli and sold would not be returned to owners. Sardar replied: "I am not going to be premier and the land will be returned to the peasants."
President of Third Local Self-Government Conference at Broach.
- 1936 Collected Rs. 49,000 for Harijan Fund in two days in February. Appointed Chairman of Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee to select party candidates for provincial elections under Government of India Act, 1935.
- 1937 Involved in a controversy with K. F. Nariman, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, over selection of premier for Bombay Presidency. Guided Congress Ministries after acceptance of office.

- 1938 Involved in July in controversy on a constitutional issue with Dr. N. B. Khare, Prime Minister of Central Provinces. Khare accused Sardar of conspiring to oust him from office and resigned from Government and Congress. Efforts to impose central party discipline on provincial leaders earned him title Dictator of India. Presided over Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad. Narrowly escaped attempt to kill him. Visit to Mysore city resulted in Government of Mysore State agreeing to flying of Congress flag in its territory. Flew to Rajkot on 24 December for talks with Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, who signed agreement on release of prisoners in Rajkot State and offered Sardar a portfolio in his Council of Ministers.
- 1939 Subhas Chandra Bose defied Gandhi, Patel and other members of the Working Committee and got elected President of the Congress at the Tripuri session defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.
- Bose's resolution on mass civil disobedience was defeated at the Tripuri session in February. Bose described Sardar as "shining light of the ruling clique." He resigned presidentship disagreeing with a resolution of the Congress, asking him to nominate the Working Committee on the advice of Gandhiji. The Working Committee appointed a war sub-committee of three, including Vallabhbhai, in August. Warned provincial Congress organisations not to force a political crisis by hasty action.
- Thakore Saheb of Rajkot broke agreement and satyagraha was renewed in State early in the year.
- 1940 Replied in a public speech at Ahmedabad in October to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who had asked in House of Commons whether India was fit for independence. Sardar said: "If you lose the war, you will have lost everything, and even if you win, you will have suffered so heavily that your victory will be an empty one. At the end of the war, I declare no nation will remain subject to another. A great revolution is going to sweep the people everywhere. We shall see a new world emerge out of the fiery ordeal of this war."
- Arrested under Defence of India Act on 18 November for participating in satyagraha launched by Gandhi to press Britain for firm commitment on Indian independence. Imprisoned in Sabarmati jail and later transferred to Yeravda.

- 1941 Released on 20 August from detention on ground of health. Condemned communal killing in Ahmedabad at first public meeting after release. Treated for acute intestinal disorder.
- 1942 Participated in talks with Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Favoured acceptance of constitutional proposals put forward by Cripps provided they were modified to suit political conditions in India.
- 1942 Supported Quit India resolution at AICC meeting in August Bombay on 8 August. Arrested at 4 a.m. on 9 August under Defence of India Act. Detained without trial at Ahmednagar fort with other Working Committee members.
- 1945 Transferred to Yeravda. Recurrence of intestinal trouble. Released on 15 June.
Went to Simla during political talks between Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and Indian leaders.
Entrusted with organising Congress election campaign for Central and provincial legislatures.
Secured G. V. Mavalankar's election as Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in December.
- 1946 Issued call to Ministers in Congress Governments to work for eradication of untouchability.
Disapproved Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's proposal for mass conversion of members of Scheduled Castes to other religions. If they changed religion, they could not claim benefits as Harijans.
Persuaded revolting men of Royal Indian Navy to call off agitation in February as "the dawn of freedom is breaking and the sun will rise in a few months."
If political issues between Britain and India could not be solved satisfactorily, India would withdraw from Bretton Woods Conference, Sardar said in a statement in March. Condemned suggestion that sterling balances should be scaled down. "Sterling credit is the economic foundation of India and this country's future progress largely depends upon it."
Opposed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, saying: "It is a monstrous thing that a man can claim a different nationality because he changes his religion." Hindus and Muslims were all basically Indians and thought as such. Congress

could not accept the theory of Pakistan, happen what may. The two-nation theory would ruin all.

Declared in an exclusive interview with the political correspondent of Reuter that India would be prepared to refer major political issues to an international body for arbitration. Britain could not stay in India indefinitely. "Hand over power either to the Congress or to the Muslim League and go out of India," he said.

Advised withdrawal of trial of leaders of Indian National Army in Delhi.

Pleaded for fuller freedom to legislatures in Princely States and to Praja Mandals to select representatives to Constituent Assembly.

Appealed to Sikhs not to boycott Constituent Assembly even though Cabinet Mission had not done them justice. Rejected possibility of a coalition between Muslim League and Congress.

Joined Viceroy's Executive Council as Home Member on 3 September. Announced in Central Legislative Assembly that foreigners would be appointed to senior administrative posts only in exceptional cases.

Accepted the principle of state control of industry; told Central Legislative Assembly that it was not desirable to go fast on nationalisation.

Spurned Jinnah's proposal for an exchange of population. Urged Muslim League to join Constituent Assembly and abandon its Pakistan policy.

1947 Talks with British Government representatives on transfer of control of services from Secretary of State to Interim Government and compensation for British officials completed. Statement on All India Radio's language policy announcing *changes in existing practice*.

Rejoinder to Jinnah: "Let an impartial tribunal decide the Pakistan issue, for Pakistan could be attained only on the basis of justice and understanding and not by force of arms."

Appealed to Muslim League to accept invitation to join talks and agree to arbitration by a "free power" in case of disagreement between League and Congress.

Told Princes to play their part in shaping India's destiny. Warned North-West Frontier Province Ministry headed by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan that Centre would not submit to rowdyism and threats.

Interim Government's proposals on compensation to British officials accepted by Attlee Government. Demanded dominion status for India "at once" so that a strong Centre could deal firmly with threats to law and order. Statement issued on outbreak of riots in Dera Ismail Khan and elsewhere in NWFP.

Rulers of Dholpur, Nabha and Nawanagar told Sardar in New Delhi of their decision to join Constituent Assembly. States Department created and entrusted to Sardar. Described Jinnah's demand for a land corridor linking West Pakistan with the eastern wing as "fantastic nonsense."

Assured Princes that "internal autonomy" of their states would be respected.

Patel Committee's report on minorities submitted to Constituent Assembly. Report recommended joint electorates, representation in Ministries at Centre and in states and other safeguards.

Insisted on stationing a brigade of Indian Army in Kathiawar to protect states acceding to Indian Union from apprehended attack from Junagadh.

Persuaded Government to overrule Mountbatten and entrust Indian Army with operations against Nawab of Junagadh.

Pledged Government protection to Muslims staying in India. Said forced conversions and marriages would not be recognised.

Announced full agreement between India and Pakistan on all outstanding issues relating to partition, including division of armed forces. Said Kashmir had not been referred to Inter-Dominion Partition Committee. Announced in Constituent Assembly financial settlement between India and Pakistan under which India would transfer Rs. 750 millions to Pakistan as "a great gesture of goodwill."

Addressed Orissa rulers in Cuttack. They agreed to merge their territories with Orissa province.

Announced at public meeting in Jammu that "everything possible" would be done to save Kashmir, "and this assurance I am conveying on behalf of the Government of India." Praised Sheikh Abdullah's role in ensuring Kashmir's accession to India.

1948 Appealed to labour leaders of West Bengal to support popular Government. Warned Pakistan that if it wanted further division of the country, "let us do it in the open field." Asked Indian Muslims: "In the recent all-India Muslim Conference, why did you not open your mouths on the Kashmir issue? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan? These things create doubts in the minds of the people."

Declared in a statement: "Unless the Kashmir issue is settled, the financial pact between India and Pakistan cannot be implemented. . . . Let there be no mistake that Kashmir belongs to India."

Declared at Patna that abolition of zamindari without compensation would be nothing short of robbery.

Appealed to Nizam of Hyderabad to respect his people's wishes and accede to India.

Inaugurating Rajasthan Union, said that only by coming together could smaller states save themselves from anarchy and confusion.

In message on formation of Vindhya Pradesh, said: "Unification and democratisation would be purposeless if they did not bring about improvement in the lot of the people." Warned British politicians and Press to halt propaganda against India. Blamed Churchill for India's partition and attendant disasters.

Rejected compromise on Hyderabad. Accession and responsible government were India's minimum demands.

Said in an eve-of-independence speech: "In free India there is no room for divided loyalties."

Informed Parliament that "action would be taken against Hyderabad for breach of the Standstill Agreement."

Congratulated Defence Services on their remarkable success in the "police action" in Hyderabad.

Indicted UN for mishandling Kashmir issue. "We accepted the UN Commission's cease-fire proposals, but the other

party did not. We could perform the Kashmir operation without danger if only we could free ourselves from our commitments."

Referring to Pakistan and its anti-Indian propaganda, said: "I wonder whether they are really afraid of us, or is this outburst merely an attempt to preserve their unity?"

Inaugurated Advisory Board of Central India States. Praised Nehru's leadership on his 60th birthday, saying: "Pandit Nehru has led the country through the crisis and has by his great leadership enhanced the prestige of India. We want our leader to remain at the helm for many years."

1949 Announced merger of five Princely States of Rajputana—Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Udaipur—to form Rajasthan Union and hailed it as a momentous development.

Advised Maharaja of Baroda to merge his State with Bombay.

Challenged contention of Nawab of Bhopal that paramountcy had lapsed with British withdrawal from India.

Warned Communists that if they continued to oppose Government and create danger they would be dealt with severely.

Opposed demand for linguistic states because consolidation of country must precede revision of boundaries.

Appealed to members of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh to join Congress.

Advised South Indians to learn Hindi.

Appealed for public contributions to rebuild Somnath temple in Junagadh.

Announced in Hyderabad that responsible government would be introduced in former Nizam's State only after normalcy was restored.

Warned Master Tara Singh in a speech at Amritsar that he was following suicidal policies.

Advised RSS to concentrate on regenerating Hindu society through constitutional and constructive methods.

Inaugurated Rajasthan State in Jaipur.

Announced take-over of administration of Bhopal State by Centre and congratulated Nawab on his understanding

and self-sacrifice. Declared that welfare of Muslims would be prime concern of State's new administration.

At a public meeting at Indore, warned Congress politicians in newly formed states unions that he would dissolve ministries and administer unions centrally if they did not stop their petty squabbles and tussles for power.

Told All-India Depressed Classes Leagues Confederation: "India's independence will not be completed until every Harijan claims, and actually gets, equality of status."

Moving consideration of report of Advisory Committee on Minorities in Constituent Assembly, said: "Minority concessions, though not good in themselves, have to be treated as purely temporary. Minorities should voluntarily agree to abolition of reservations for them in services and legislatures."

Supported grant of privy purses to princes in return for accession to Indian Union.

1950 Warned Pakistan against pushing Hindus out of eastern wing.

Defended in Parliament use of preventive detention to fight terrorism and violence.

Gave details of democratic set-up for Delhi Union Territory.

Appealed at public meeting in Calcutta for fair trial to Nehru-Liaquat Pact on minorities.

Told public meeting at Indore that Congress "is fully behind Nehru." Called for revolution in system of education in address to Gujarat Vidyapith.

Opened newly constructed building of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad. Purse of Rs. 1.5 million presented on behalf of Gujarat on his 75th birthday, which he immediately handed over to President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Declared that accepting aid from United States did not mean alignment with any power bloc. UNO should be strengthened.

Deplored Chinese intervention in Tibet and use of force against Tibetans.

Fell ill on 15 November. Taken to Bombay on Tuesday 12 December. Died on Friday morning, 15 December.

FOCUS ON SARDAR

[An illuminating picture of Sardar Patel's activities and style of work was provided by his daughter Maniben. What follows are extracts from the information and views given by her to Trevor Driberg and the Editor in New Delhi.]

The Sardar was a man of few words. He wrote very little; he hardly kept any record of his public or party work. He destroyed letters addressed to him after reading them and replied by hand, not keeping copies. But after he was appointed Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board in 1934, files relating to its transactions were kept.

When the Sardar fell ill towards the end of the Bardoli satyagraha in 1928, it was suggested that somebody should give him secretarial help. I said: "If someone is to be kept, why not I?" From 1929 until his death, I preserved his correspondence whenever possible. Once, when K. Gopalaswami, political commentator of the Times of India, visited him in his flat on Marine Drive, Bombay, the Sardar called for a letter he had received from C. Rajagopalachari, forgetting that he had torn it up and thrown it in the wastepaper basket. Fortunately, I had collected the pieces. It took me some time to paste them together before passing it on to him. This happened before the Interim Government was formed.

The Sardar travelled second-class by railway before he became a Minister. I would spread his bedding at night and retire to a third-class compartment. But from 1934, when there was much correspondence to attend to even on train journeys and people came to see him at stations, I kept company with him in his second-class compartment. I use to make copies of important letters he wrote in hand, but he would question this, asking why I was taking such trouble and wasting time. I also kept newspaper clippings of important events with which he was associated.

The Sardar read several newspapers and listened to radio news bulletins regularly. This enabled him to keep abreast of developments throughout the country. He also talked to people to get information to supplement other sources.

After 1945, the secretarial functions of the Congress Parliamentary Board were undertaken mainly by Shantilal Shah. The Sardar was undergoing treatment for intestinal trouble at the

Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, when he sent for Shantilal Shah from Bombay. Shah, a Congress Socialist, hesitated at first because he did not know what was in store for him. But B. G. Kher (Premier of Bombay) advised him to take up the work. The Sardar told Shah he wanted him to act as his secretary at the Parliamentary Board office located at the headquarters of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

The Sardar was a very shrewd judge of character. When he met a person for the first time he looked him up and down, and the assessment he made in that process rarely went wrong.

Once when Mathuradas Trikamji, Mayor of Bombay, asked what kind of men he kept round him, the Sardar replied that his was a "juggler's basket." He kept all kinds of people for the single aim of winning India's freedom. He used different people for different purposes. He was fully aware of their weaknesses and drawbacks but exploited their useful qualities.

The Sardar learnt punctuality in his youth when he had to do everything for himself. This experience taught him to save time by doing things according to schedule. This gave him self-reliance and at the same time an appreciation of the difficulties other people encountered. He walked on business errands rather than used transport. This habit served him well in London when he was attending the Inns of Court. He used to walk from his lodgings to the law library, a distance of several miles daily. He could not afford to buy books for study, and was at the library when the librarian opened it and left at closing time every evening.

The visit to England fulfilled two of my father's ambitions. He wanted to see the country from which people had come to conquer India and to qualify as a barrister. He had seen how even mediocre lawyers had been able to build up a large practice because they had been to London to study for the Bar. On his return to Ahmedabad, he established himself as the city's leading criminal lawyer.

When he was a district pleader at Borsad in the early 1900s, there was a British magistrate who kept a mirror in his court to study the faces of witnesses. This made witnesses nervous and the magistrate drew conclusions from their behaviour about their truthfulness. The Sardar thought of a plan to make the officer behave. He demanded transfer to the district court of a case in which he was appearing before the magistrate. The Sardar presented him with a sealed letter. The magistrate opened the letter and saw his name

heading the list of witnesses for the defence. He called the Sardar to his chamber for a talk. The accused was acquitted and the magistrate stopped using the mirror, conceding that he had no right to do so. This incident illustrates a facet of my father's character. He had no fear of the British magistracy or administrators.

The Sardar was a man of regular habits and disliked armchair politicians. He read about Gandhiji's action in Champaran and was impressed by his methods of organising peasants to resist exploitation and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi was preoccupied with the agitation in Bihar and wanted somebody who would give up everything and devote all his time to the satyagraha campaign in Kaira district organised as a protest against excessive land revenue. My father volunteered his services, and they were accepted.

Until that time the Sardar wore European dress. He was so fastidious that finding no good laundry in Ahmedabad he got his stiff collars washed in Bombay.

From early youth, the Sardar developed the qualities of leadership and discipline. In later life, these qualities were to help him in organising large groups of people for action. Until the Bardoli movement, he was hardly known outside Gujarat. He did not go out of Gujarat until Gandhiji's sentence of imprisonment for six years in 1922, when he went on a fund-raising mission for the Gujarat Vidyapith as far east as Rangoon.

For years in Gujarat, whenever Gandhiji addressed a public meeting the Sardar did not speak at it and later, when the Sardar spoke, other Congress leaders did not speak. This is an illustration of the discipline observed by Congressmen at the time. The leader spoke for them and the others showed their loyalty by action.

When Gandhiji started the swadeshi movement and burning of foreign clothes, the Sardar burnt all his European clothes, socks and hats. He never wore any type of headgear, even a khadi cap, after he cast aside his black Banglora cap. From then, he always wore dhoti and kurta and a chaddar on his shoulder, adding only a warm jacket in winter.

The satyagraha in Borsad Taluka, Kaira district, lasted a month. The provincial Government had levied a punitive tax of eight annas—a large sum at that time—per person on all the inhabitants for the maintenance of the preventive police. Even children were taxed. The campaign succeeded and in this satyagraha he gained the title Suba of Borsad.

Another sphere in which the Sardar helped to raise the morale of the people of the area was connected with the activities of dacoits. People dared not leave their houses after 6 p.m. for fear of dacoits who infested the area. They appealed to the Sardar for help. He agreed, provided they did not allow their houses to be used for keeping stolen property.

In the Bardoli satyagraha, there was one organiser for every big village. The Sardar set out at noon from his headquarters and returned at midnight after visiting many villages. There was only one car, so all the other organisers journeyed on foot or by train or cart. The peasants accepted the Sardar as their unquestioned leader. Every morning, he received written reports from each village through volunteer messengers. The title Sardar of Bardoli was conferred on him by a party worker at a public meeting. It gained nationwide currency when Gandhiji started referring to him in this manner.

As head of Ahmedabad Municipality, the Sardar looked far ahead of immediate civic needs and planned accordingly, unlike some of his successors who made changes looking to short-term gains.

His qualities of leadership were recognised when he organised relief measures during the floods that hit Gujarat in 1927. He went round Ahmedabad city with the chief engineer and ordered a culvert to be broken to let the flood waters flow into the Sabarmati river. This saved the city from total inundation. He also persuaded the Bombay Government to provide more than a crore of rupees for relief to the flood victims. He sent help to the Collector of Kaira when the district was cut off from the rest of Gujarat. Only the Collector's bungalow, which stood on a mound, was safe, and all the townfolk had gathered there for safety. The Sardar's men brought food and other necessities.

The Sardar went to Calcutta for the Congress session over which Motilal Nehru presided. Even though his name had become a household word as the hero of Bardoli his physical appearance was not known. The volunteers of the Congress failed to identify him and since he did not carry a ticket he was not admitted to the pandal. The next day he carried his membership card and the volunteers were surprised when they found people shouting for the darshan of the Sardar of Bardoli and that the hero was the person the volunteers had kept out the previous day.

The Sardar was favoured by the provincial Congress committees as the next party president, but Motilal Nehru wrote to

Gandhiji asking that Jawaharlal should succeed him. Motilal wanted to see his son Congress chief before he died. My father agreed with Bapu (Gandhiji) that Motilal's wish be fulfilled.

It was usual for the Congress President to attend annual sessions with large retinues. The Sardar went to the Karachi session in 1931 with only me and an aide, thus cutting drastically the expenses of the reception committee.

The outlook of the Sardar and of Nehru was vastly different. They agreed to differ, but at the same time worked together for the common cause of India's freedom. The influence of Mridula Sarabhai and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on Nehru was to a large extent responsible for the rift between my father and Jawaharlal.

The Sardar became the party boss from the time he became head of the Parliamentary Board. He was also the party's main fund-raiser. The Congress High Command, of which he was the mainspring, functioned as a moral prop for the Chief Ministers against the administrative machine directed by the British.

I used to sleep by the telephone to take calls that came at odd hours of the night so that the Sardar's sleep was not disturbed. I took down messages and passed them on to him the next morning. One such call came at midnight from Biswanath Das, then Premier of Orissa. He had decided to resign over the choice of a provincial official to act as Governor. The Sardar backed him and the Viceroy yielded.

I may recall a meeting the Sardar had with Bombay Governor Lumley in 1935 at Lumley's request. It lasted about an hour. Lumley told the Sardar that he would be Premier of Bombay, but the lands confiscated from the peasants of Bardoli would never be returned. The Sardar replied: "Note it down that I am not going to be Premier, and also that the lands will be returned to the peasants."

The Sardar took many unpopular decisions in party and Government matters, but his decisions were accepted because he had no axe to grind. He was not amenable to threats or blackmail. *He had no property of his own and he was above extraneous considerations.* He had nothing to lose, had no ambition and no desire to cling to office.

Once in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji asked in good humour what post he would like to hold after Independence. The Sardar replied he would become a sadhu. In 1945, when it had been decided to replace Azad as Congress President, the Sardar got the largest

share of votes in the Working Committee. But Kripalani, one of the candidates, withdrew in favour of Nehru and handed a paper to the Sardar to withdraw his nomination as well so that Nehru could be elected unopposed.

Gandhiji, to whom this matter was referred, told Nehru: "I don't want to make you a prop of mine if people don't want you." Nehru kept silent and was selected President. Gandhiji supported Nehru's choice as Prime Minister because he was well known outside India. He compared the Sardar and Nehru to two bullocks yoked to a cart. He felt that if Nehru was made Prime Minister he would be prevented from "making mischief" in the country.

When the Sardar became Home Minister and later on Deputy Prime Minister, anybody could call on him during his morning walk from 4.30 to 6.30. He was a fast walker and few could keep pace with him. They told him what they wanted and then they would drop out when the dialogue was over. He gave brief answers and listened mostly. For party workers and others this was an opportunity for opening their hearts to him. At the end of an hour's listening, the Sardar would probably reply in a couple of words. He arranged assistance for even the humblest party worker who needed it. He provided hospitalisation if necessary. After his illness in March 1948 his medical advisers stopped morning walks completely and restricted his interviews.

In 1941, he was afflicted with severe intestinal trouble. He woke around 3.30 every morning because of pain in the bowels. He spent an hour in the toilet before setting out on his morning walk. He had a cup of tea and breakfast, which consisted of a piece of toast and apple juice. In these early morning hours, before going for a walk, I did my quota of spinning. When he assumed office his Private Secretary V. Shankar came in with office files after breakfast. The Sardar looked through the morning newspapers carefully and rarely missed any significant news. He gave oral instructions to Shankar. As before, he would write as little as possible. When in good health, he left home around 9.30 for the Home Ministry, returned for lunch and after a nap of 15 minutes went to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

I looked after the Sardar's Gujarati correspondence while Shankar attended to that in English. I passed on some of the correspondence in Hindi to Shankar. Morarji Desai had recommended Shankar as Private Secretary. The Sardar invited him to lunch to look him over before selecting him for the post.

The Partition Committee, set up under the Mountbatten Plan and consisting of as many as 30 to 40 officers, would come to the Sardar's house and stay up to lunch receiving instructions from him. Its members had to report back to him in the evening. Every order he issued had to be executed within 24 hours. He rang up Premiers at night when he had a particular issue to discuss with them. He was against wasting money on telephone calls on matters that were not urgent. I kept a diary of all private trunk calls, for which the Sardar paid from his own pocket.

I recall another instance of his method of work. There was a crisis in the jute industry. The Sardar phoned C. C. Desai, Commerce Secretary, and M. P. Birla, Chairman of the Indian Jute Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta, and others every night to check on developments. Similarly, at the time of the Bombay riots and disturbances elsewhere, he made phone calls at night to find out what was happening. He made calls to Punjab, Bengal and UP at the time of the partition troubles.

The Sardar was not impolite or arrogant in his dealings with people. He replied promptly to correspondence. He read all the letters addressed to him personally and generally told the officer concerned how he should reply. He never signed letters or any other document blindly. When he was not fully satisfied with a draft, he would change it himself or ask the officer concerned to redraft it. He liked precision and conciseness in letters. He would say that this was "not a place for essays" or for exhibiting one's command of English.

Mountbatten recognised the Sardar's greatness. I was the only other person present when the Sardar had a talk with Bapu between 4 and 5 p.m. on the day of his assassination. Bapu had decided to release the Sardar from the Ministry at the latter's instance, but Mountbatten strongly opposed this because he felt that the Sardar "had his feet on the ground while Nehru had his in the clouds." He told Gandhiji that he could not release the Sardar. Gandhiji agreed and withdrew his decision.

It was agreed at the conversation on January 30 afternoon that Gandhiji, Nehru and the Sardar should sit together and iron out their differences. But this meeting was never held. The Sardar was greatly upset by the slander campaign against him at that time in certain Congress and Government circles. He was worried at heart that Gandhiji had to defend him continually against these slanders.

Previously, when Nehru lived at York Road and the Sardar just across on Aurangzeb Road, they used to meet every day, even though for a few minutes. Nehru would sometimes drop in after lunch, or in the evening or at night after dinner. They walked together and discussed matters. The Sardar would walk with Nehru up to the gate of the latter's house on York Road and see him off there or they would return together to Aurangzeb Road.

These daily meetings and talks cleared misunderstandings, but this dialogue became very difficult after Nehru moved to the house of the former Commander-in-Chief on Teen Murti Marg. If he had not moved there on Mountbatten's advice, much of their later differences might never have developed. Because of his illness, the Sardar was not able to go to Nehru's house frequently.

When there were party matters to be attended to, the Sardar requested the AICC General Secretary to call at his house for instructions. The Working Committee met at the Sardar's residence since there was no good AICC office building at that time in Delhi. The Provincial Premiers constantly sought his guidance, and he was a great help to them in their encounters with members of the bureaucracy or party dissidents.

The administrations of the new states formed after integration lacked capable men to guide them. But in those areas where party members had carried out constructive work under the Sardar's direction before independence, such men were available. This was so in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Elsewhere in the country, party workers in the former states had only indulged in agitation and there was no solid foundation for their work.

The Sardar did not aspire to prime ministership or any other high office. He once said that if India had won Swaraj ten years earlier he would have solved the food problem as he had solved that of the states. He added : "But I have not the strength to do so now." He considered food the country's most important problem after consolidation. He was essentially a man of action, averse to writing. His philosophy of life may be summed up in the words: "Why not create history rather than waste time writing it?"

MANIBEN PATEL

OUTLINE OF I-X VOLUMES

MAIN TOPICS

KASHMIR PROBLEM

1945-46

ELECTIONS

Working of Constituent Assembly and its parliamentary aspects
Interim Government and its working

Negotiations with Indian States—their place in future set-up
Bretton Woods Conference and other international conferences
Indian National Army

Provincial politics—Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central
Provinces, Madras, Orissa, North-West Frontier Province,
Sind and United Provinces.

1947

NATIONAL ISSUES

Working of Central Government

- (i) Interim Union Government
 - (a) Before 15 August 1947
 - (b) After 15 August 1947
- (ii) External
 - (a) Ambassadorial appointments
 - (b) Indo-Nepal relations
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TRANSFER OF POWER

Partition
Communal flare-up
Refugee problem

STATES POLITICS

Hyderabad
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- (a) Accession
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Indian States and their problems

Hyderabad issue

Provincial politics

HIGHLIGHTS—VOLUMES I-VII AND IX-X

VOL. I: NEW LIGHT ON KASHMIR

This absorbing inside story of the events leading up to Independence and continuing subsequently till Sardar Patel's death in 1950 has not been told before. It contains the basic raw material for the research scholar and the historian. The correspondence published in this series opens with the efforts of Maharaja Hari Singh and his counsellors in Srinagar to shore up the feudal structure in Jammu and Kashmir by denial of democratic rights.

The Maharaja unleashed a campaign of repression against the National Conference, the political mouthpiece of the state people, arrested Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, its chief, and charged him with sedition. Jawaharlal Nehru entered Kashmir in defiance of the state Government's ban and courted arrest.

The Maharaja, finding that his hands were forced by the invasion of the state from Pakistan by armed "raiders," opted for India and, after signing the instrument of accession, agreed to the formation of a popular government under Sheikh Abdullah. The Maharaja and the Sheikh were soon at loggerheads. The Maharaja, under relentless pressure from New Delhi, surrendered power and placed himself in the hands of the Sardar who, as the correspondence reveals, played a crucial role in the negotiations which led ultimately to the withdrawal of the Maharaja from the state and the succession of his heir, Yuvraj Karan Singh, as regent and finally as constitutional head of the state.

Patel also pointed out how India's case on Kashmir before the United Nation's Security Council should have been effectively presented. The exchange of letters between him and the Sheikh foreshadows the strong differences on approach to the Kashmir problem which ultimately led to the Sheikh's removal from the prime ministership of the state in 1953. Abdullah went his own way, heedless of Patel's restraining influence.

VOL. II : ELECTIONS TO CENTRAL & PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES—DIRECTION OF CONGRESS CAMPAIGN

Soon after the Congress leaders were released from detention in 1944, negotiations opened with the representatives of the British Raj in New Delhi and the leaders of other Indian political

parties, notably the Muslim League, on new constitutional arrangements to suit the change in the political climate brought about by World War II and to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom.

Patel's guiding hand was evident in these negotiations as well as in the direction and management of the Congress campaign for the elections to the Central and provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. These elections, based on communal electorates with a restricted franchise, were an acid test of the Congress claim to represent the Indian people and to be the recipient of power on their behalf when the British relinquished their authority. The Muslim League, through Mohammed Ali Jinnah, contested this claim, asserting that it was the sole champion of the Muslim "nation" which aspired to a separate existence on the advent of Independence.

Patel's role as chief of staff of the Congress High Command, indefatigably marshalling manpower and finances and selection of suitable candidates for the big electoral battle, comes out strikingly in the correspondence in this volume.

VOL. III: GUIDANCE TO MINISTRIES—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PROBLEMS—INTERIM GOVERNMENT DEADLOCK—REFORMS IN INDIAN STATES

Elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies were followed by the formation of a board consisting of Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to organise elections to the Constituent Assembly as proposed under the Cabinet Mission plan, aiding and guiding Provincial Congress Ministries, including the Coalition Ministry in the Punjab, and supervising the working of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. These tasks fell primarily on the shoulders of Sardar Patel, who functioned as a one-man High Command.

The political situation was complicated by several factors. The Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie, manoeuvred to put in the Muslim League in power. Direct Action Day, observed by the Muslim League on 16 August 1946, resulted in unprecedented communal carnage in Calcutta. There were riots in Bihar. The League refused to agree to the Cabinet Mission plan. Mahatma Gandhi's meetings with Lord Wavell failed to straighten matters. Patel attributed the deadlock over the formation of an Interim Coalition Government to bungling by the Viceroy.

An Interim Government, headed by Nehru and consisting of Congress party nominees, was formed on 2 September 1946. It was enlarged into a Congress-League coalition in the middle of October 1946. Soon after, Patel described the coalition, which was functioning without joint responsibility, as an arena of party politics and intrigue. He repeatedly drew Wavell's attention to the disruptionist role of the League members of the government. He also tried to persuade him to bring Bengal under virtual martial law to restore peace and tranquillity. Problems of Indian National Army personnel, the Royal Indian Navy uprising, creation of the International Monetary Fund, shipping, trade, and the Secretary of State's Services were firmly and constructively handled by the Sardar.

The movement for reform in the Indian States sponsored by Praja Mandals received an *impetus* from political developments in British India. The meagre hope of success is revealed in a note Nehru forwarded to the Sardar of his talks with the Nawab of Bhopal in early April 1946. The Sardar, however, guided the movement into the right channel. The correspondence reveals the country in the throes of revolutionary change.

VOL. IV: TRANSFER OF POWER—COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST AND PARTITION—ADMINISTRATION AND STABILITY

The political deadlock dragged on from 1946 to 1947. All *efforts of the Congress to avert partition failed as the League, instigated by sympathisers in the top echelons of the British bureaucracy in India and Britain, stuck out for Pakistan.* Finally, the Congress capitulated under heavy pressure and the twin states of secular, democratic India and Islamic, autocratic Pakistan were born, with Governor-General Mountbatten playing the role of midwife.

Partition and transfer of power were accompanied by the tragedy and turmoil of wholesale uprooting of populations, mass murder and looting and other acts of barbarity. The entire socio-economic structure of the affected provinces seemed on the verge of collapse. How the problem of restoring peace and sanity and resettling the uprooted and dispossessed victims of the trauma of partition was handled, primarily by Patel, with courage and firmness, is revealed in the correspondence.

While the Attlee Government in London and Mountbatten in New Delhi appeared to play fair by the Congress and the Indian people, British administrators continued to play politics at

the lower levels and were instrumental in pushing Pakistan into a military adventure in Kashmir as part of their game to weaken India economically and politically. The Muslim League, which had grabbed power in Pakistan, eagerly collaborated in this game.

VOL. V: CONTROL OVER CONGRESS MINISTRIES— INDIAN STATES' ACCESSION

Creating conditions for stable government and maintaining law and order in the old provinces of British India after the disruption of partition was a major problem which was Patel's prime responsibility as Minister of Home Affairs. Relations between governors and chief ministers had to be redefined in the changed political context, and the Sardar was often called upon to mediate in disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of rules and practices by those in authority.

Problems also arose from the emergence of factionalism in the provincial Congress organisations, and the Sardar had to exert his authority to prevent them from cracking up in the heat of local power struggles. The most notable instance was in Madras, where two rival factions were engaged in a bitter struggle which resulted in the ouster of Chief Minister T. Prakasam.

Rehabilitation of Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan was the key problem encountered in East Punjab, together with the intransigence of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal. In Assam, large-scale infiltration of Muslims created difficulties for the provincial administration in the wake of the loss of Sylhet district to Pakistan. The inclusion of the tribal hill tracts in the province also presented difficulties as the hillsmen, ethnically and culturally different from the dwellers in the Brahmaputra Valley, wanted a separate identity. In the interests of national security in a very sensitive region, they were brought together under one administration.

Bringing the conglomeration of princely states within the ambit of the new integrated nation-state that Congress leaders envisaged after freedom also presented many problems, the solution of which rested on Patel's shoulders as Minister of States.

VOL VI: PATEL-NEHRU DIFFERENCES—ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI— SERVICES REORGANISED—REFUGEE REHABILITATION

Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru came to the brink of relinquishing office in each other's favour over differences, first arising out of communal disturbances in Ajmer-Merwara and later

snowballing into serious conflict over the definition of the functions of the Prime Minister in relation to his colleagues and the preparation of memoranda by both for presentation to Gandhi for his adjudication. The assassination of Gandhi at this crucial period acted, however, as a cementing bond between them. The Rashtriya Sawyamsevak Sangh and similar organisations were banned.

C. Rajagopalachari was brought to the Centre as Governor-General in succession to Mountbatten. Restoring popular confidence after the Gandhi murder and curbing the extremist elements responsible for it without at the same time causing civil strife was the responsibility of Patel. The correspondence between Nehru and Patel on this subject reveals the different styles with which they functioned. Throughout the year, the influx of fresh waves of refugees and their rehabilitation continued to be a major pre-occupation of the government, and it was Patel's lot to co-ordinate these tasks.

The difficulties encountered in providing cohesive and effective administrations in the provinces called for firm directives from Patel. In the United Provinces, the major conflict was between the veteran Congress leader Purushottamdas Tandon and Premier Pant and their political adversary Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This was represented in the Press as a struggle between supporters of Patel and Nehru and a reflection of a power tussle at a higher level. Sharp differences arose in Assam between Governor Akbar Hydari and Chief Minister Gopinath Bardoloi, while Communist activities became a cause of worry in this province and in neighbouring West Bengal.

VOL. VII : INTEGRATING INDIAN STATES—POLICE ACTION IN HYDERABAD

The year 1948 was significant for the introduction of responsible government in many princely states, and also for the attempts of some princes to block this process. Integration talks were launched and new groupings of states came into existence with popular ministers to run them. Not long after their induction, Patel was called upon to deal with the squabbles within these governments as well as between them and the princely heads of the new unions.

The papers relating to the States of Hyderabad and Junagadh have been brought together, for their case stands apart from that of the other states which voluntarily merged in the Indian Union as a result of the patriotic impulse of their rulers, who read the

signs of the times. While the ruler of Junagadh fled to Pakistan, the Nizam dreamt of carving out an independent state in the belly of the Indian Union.

With this end in view, the Nizam's agents went on an arms buying spree in Europe and organised bands of thugs to terrorise the predominantly Hindu population of his State. Secret negotiations were also started with the British for the addition of Bastar State to his domain and the retrocession of Berar, which had been incorporated in the Central Provinces. Advances were made to the Portuguese Government about providing access to Hyderabad through Goa to the Arabian Sea.

Here, as in other instances of princely opposition to joining India, the undercover manœuvres of British officials and politicians, keen on seeing India weak and divided after Independence, played an important part in stiffening the resistance of the Nizam and the feudal clique which supported him. After vain attempts to persuade the Nizam to agree peaceably to joining the Indian Union, as the vast majority of his subjects demanded, the Indian Government organised a "police action" to effect the merger. The story ends with the Nizam's surrender and expression of complete confidence in Sardar Patel's political sagacity.

VOL. IX: POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES—REFUGEES FROM EAST BENGAL—TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

Factionalism continued to cause administrative snarls in the states and provinces and to this were added charges of corruption and abuse of power against those in authority. The Sardar was deeply involved in trying to keep peace among the warring factions and weeding out the corrupt. A controversy erupted in West Bengal over the relative status of Bengali and Hindi for official purposes, and a movement for Greater Bengal, including East Pakistan, raised its head in the province.

Friction within the Madras Ministry was sharpened by popular demands for a separate Andhra Pradesh. Factions within the Punjab Congress came to be identified with Nehru and Patel. In Hyderabad, the Communists as well as communalists became active and caused anxiety to the State administration. The Communist-supported uprising of the peasants of Telengana, who employed force to dispossess the landlords and divide up their property, led to military operations against them.

Communal riots broke out in West Bengal as more refugees streamed in from East Pakistan with stories of atrocities perpetrated

on the Hindu minority there. The Congress party split in Andhra Pradesh at the same time as the Communist swung into action in the region. Master Tara Singh strove hard to stir up communal feeling in the Punjab. The Sardar advocated a cautious approach to the language problem in this province.

The partition of Bengal and the consequent loss of jute so necessary for mills in India was a matter of great concern to the Sardar who wanted the provinces to put more acreage under its cultivation. Food shortage equally worried him and he urged the provinces to open up waste lands and popularise modern and better techniques of agriculture among farmers. On other economic fronts he appealed to labour to shun strikes for the more reasonable procedure of arbitration of disputes. To Rajendra Prasad's objection that the Hindu Code Bill should not be rushed through the legislature, he said the party had debated it and decided "to support" it. He emphasised that majority party decisions should be accepted and implemented by all members and objectors should quit. He stressed the need for quick action in the cases of suspended government servants.

VOL. X: ACUTE POWER STRUGGLE—TRIUMPH OF MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION—WARNING AGAINST CHINA

The highlight of foreign affairs was the Chinese invasion of Tibet, an event which raised the problem of security along the Himalayan border. In letters to Nehru and C.R., the Sardar underscored the potential threats to India's sovereignty from this source. Pakistan's persecution of minorities, incursions into Indian territory and general hostility were other matters of concern to New Delhi. Efforts were even made to poison the good relations between India and Nepal. After the election of Rajendra Prasad as President, Nehru announced his intention of resigning the office of Prime Minister to devote himself to party activities. The Central Cabinet was reconstituted and C.R. entered it. There were several exchanges of correspondence between Nehru and Patel on matters of principle, including a definition of the powers of a governor. Finance Minister John Matthai resigned on an issue of principle, and this was followed by a bitter war of words.

In the Congress presidential elections, Nehru and Patel ranged on different sides. Nehru opposed Purushottamdas Tandon's nomination, and when Tandon was elected Nehru refused to join the Congress Working Committee. The Sardar's health began to fail.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIR	All India Radio
API	Associated Press of India
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
CC	Chief Commissioner
CP	Central Provinces
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
DPCC	Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee
HPM	Hon'ble Prime Minister
I & B	Information & Broadcasting
I & S	Industry & Supply
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INA	Indian National Army
IP	Indian Police
MCA	Member of Constituent Assembly
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
RIAF	Royal Indian Air Force
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	United Provinces
UPPCC	UP Pradesh Congress Committee
USA	United States of America

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

<i>Babu</i>	Term of respect used in Bengal and Bihar for members of the intelligentsia; commonly used for a clerk
<i>Bapu</i>	Father; affectionate term of respect for Gandhi used by followers
<i>Bhagwat Gita</i>	Hindu Religious book
<i>Gandhi Jayanti Day</i>	Gandhi's birthday
<i>Goondas</i>	Hooligans
<i>Gurkhas</i>	Nepalese tribe known for military prowess
<i>Hindu Mahasabha</i>	Communal organisation whose membership was confined to Hindus
<i>Ji</i>	Respectful address as in Gandhiji, Shastriji
<i>Kapas</i>	Cotton
<i>Mahatma</i>	Great Soul
<i>Mohammadan</i>	A believer in Islam
<i>Namaskar</i>	Salute
<i>Pandit</i>	Title applied to those versed in scriptures but used commonly to denote a Brahmin
<i>Praja Mandal</i>	States peoples' association
<i>Pucca</i>	Indian word meaning good, correct, substantial, of standard quality of measurement contrasted with kachcha
<i>Pujya</i>	Respected
<i>Rashtrapati</i>	Father of the nation, term used for Congress presidents before independence and now used for head of Indian Republic
<i>Sahib</i>	Master; respectful form of address
<i>Satyagraha</i>	Holding on to truth; form of protest initiated by Gandhi and developed into a political weapon; concept of truth achieved through non-violent resistance

<i>Sikh</i>	Disciple; follower of Guru Nanak, first of the line of 10 Gurus (leaders) who formulated a new faith to rid Hinduism of superstition and caste divisions
<i>Srijut</i>	A Sanskrit term used by Hindus to denote 'Mr' or 'Esquire'; this term is common before Hindu names
<i>Zamindari</i>	Landlordism; also used to indicate cultivation of land

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VIII

A gripping drama is unfolded in this volume in the exchange of letters that took place between the top four of the Congress Party—C. R., Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad—on the selection of a candidate for election as the first President of India. The correspondence was sparked off by newspaper reports to the effect that Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, was being tipped by its members for the august office. C.R. reacted to these reports by asking the Sardar if he could "induce Rajen Babu to do something to stop this kind of gossip." The Sardar answered that he had conveyed to Rajen Babu that he issue a statement. In deference to the Sardar's wishes Rajen Babu released a short statement deprecating "discussion of individuals in connection with such a high post. *There is, and there can be, no question of any rivalry between Rajaji and myself for any post of honour.*"

However, in his letter to the Sardar, he pointed out that he was not directly concerned as there were no allegations against him in the Press reports. At this stage Nehru stepped in and sent a confidential personal letter in his own handwriting to Rajen Babu. To the Sardar he wrote deploring the possibility of a contest and thought it desirable for Rajaji to function as President for the interim period as this would involve the least change or difficulty. Nehru's letter to Rajen Babu said that a contested election for the interim period till a general election was held would be "most unfortunate." Rajen Babu was deeply hurt. He replied that he had never been a candidate and that there could be no question of any contest between Rajaji and himself. He thought that at least Nehru and Vallabhbhai would accept his statement as genuine. He had been asked to accept and act upon a decision taken "without even the courtesy of consultation."

After several exchanges of letters couched in emotional terms, Rajen Babu emphasized that there could be no question of a contest between Rajaji and him, but added: "Of course, I do not know what is passing among the members beyond what he (Satya Narayan Sinha) has told me and that some members have approached me with a request not to say 'no' if they want my name to be proposed. . . . I desire only to assure you that I have no interest in the matter at all."

In a subsequent letter to the Sardar, Nehru reverted to this subject saying that very active and vigorous canvassing had taken place and that a large majority favoured Rajen Babu. An attempt was being made to "deliberately keep Rajaji out." He said he had met Rajaji, who was "somewhat tired of it all," and that he had told Rajaji that he wanted him to continue, "quite apart from personal reasons because a man like him should be there." The Sardar replied that "the whole atmosphere stinks in my nostrils and I wonder to what depths of intrigues and manoeuvrings we have lowered ourselves. . . . Your correspondence with Rajen Babu has shown that the matters have to be dealt with very tactfully and cautiously."

Towards the end of 1949 Nehru again broached the topic with Rajen Babu. In a long letter he first surveyed the Indian scene and gave a masterly exposition. He wrote: "But what distresses me even more is the cracking up, with great rapidity, of the noble structure that Bapu built. . . . There is no discipline left, no sense of common effort, no co-operation, no attempt at constructive effort (apart from a few), and our energies are concentrated in disruption and destruction. . . . Politically, economically and socially we shall just go to pieces. No doubt, some time or other India will pull herself together again."

He followed up with his views on the presidential election, saying a contest between two eminent leaders would be "an unseemly sight." A clear decision must be arrived at long before the actual formal election: a decision that could be made public "to avoid unseemly controversy and argument which would shatter the remaining edifice of the Congress." The only course open was either for Rajaji or for Rajen Babu to make a declaration on the matter.

Rajen Babu's reply goes to show that by this time he had made up his mind about his candidature, for he wrote: "No one can say—certainly I cannot say—that my election as President of the Congress or of the Republic will help in arresting the disintegration that we all deplore. For some reason or other—justified or wholly wrong—there is a considerable opinion among the members of the Assembly who insist on my accepting the Presidency of the Republic. . . . The inference that I draw from this is that the election of Rajaji will not be smooth even if I were to withdraw and propose his name. Further, it may still further complicate the position and accelerate the disintegration which may affect even the Centre which has fortunately so far been

comparatively speaking immune." He added that any action he took which was not in consonance with the will of the Assembly would be regarded by some members as "having been dictated by you and the Sardar and all my protestations to the contrary will be disregarded, and this feeling, as I have said above, is likely to further complicate the position in the Centre. . . . I shall be happy if it is found to be incorrect."

With the prospect of India adopting a republican constitution in the near future, the question of membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations became a delicate issue. Nehru evolved a formula and India was admitted to the Commonwealth practically on its own terms after prolonged talks at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. But the behind-the-curtain moves revealed by certain documents provide valuable historical material.

The troops India had borrowed from Nepal some months earlier returned home, and in thanking the Nepalese Prime Minister the Sardar said he had been "deeply touched with this display of comradeship and cordial neighbourliness at a time when India needed help from Nepal. I can also assure you that we shall always cherish the memory of this gesture and regard this as Your Highness has said, as one more evidence of the long subsisting friendship and goodwill between India and Nepal."

The Sardar's views on evacuee property were forthright. In a note to the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet on evacuee property legislation, he said: "We are already being accused of lukewarmness in the administration of the evacuee property law as compared with Pakistan. In Pakistan, apparently, they do much more than what the law permits and naturally we cannot do anything to remedy those transgressions. Here we are accused of doing much less than the law permits, and naturally the refugee opinion charges us with expressing misplaced sympathy with and consideration for persons who are constructively and potentially disloyal to India as against a lack of consideration and want of sympathy for the plight of refugees by failing to provide the only immediate means of rehabilitation or shelter in such property as might be available from out of the pool of evacuee properties." On the effects of a more stringent administration of the evacuee property law on the Muslims in the country generally and in Kashmir in particular, he said that "so long as we can ensure fairplay and justice for genuine and loyal citizens of India, it would be possible for us to convince the Muslims that they have

nothing to fear, and this we must ensure both in the legislative as well as in the executive spheres.”

India's request to the World Bank for a dollar loan to finance industrial projects was formally signed by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador in the US. In her letter to Patel on the agreement, she also referred to her Independence Day party, and said: “The whole of Washington is talking about it and many papers have referred to the woman who can hold Washington society without the aid of alcohol.”

Early in 1949, Nathuram Godse, the assassin of Gandhi, was sentenced to death. Mr. Justice Bhandari's observations in his judgment countered the charge made “maliciously” by the Socialists and some others that the Government of India, and the Sardar in particular, could have prevented the tragedy. Mr. Bhandari said: “We know what has happened and may be able to say that this precious life could be saved this way or that way, but it is always easy to be wise after the event.”

The Sardar's views on Hindi were explicit. He suggested for the party's consideration that Hindi in Devanagari script, both letters and numerals, should be recognized as the national or official language. Government should ensure this as soon as possible by administrative measures so that Hindi could practically replace English at the end of ten years, and during this period both Hindi and English should be official languages. But the extent to which each could be used, to the exclusion of or in conjunction with the other, should be determined by the President on the advice of a committee of the legislature elected on proportional representation.

The Sardar felt, however, that All India Radio's language policy had to be somewhat different from the approach to the question of national language as AIR must make itself understood and appreciated by the common man. “The criterion of general intelligibility must remain as the guiding point of AIR language policy. . . . AIR is not, and should never be, a literary club. Once it is constituted into a club of that sort, it would become exclusive and cease to be a national institution. . . . The basic approach must be catholic and the aim should be to select words which combine with simplicity the dignity of the language and with intelligibility a high standard of expression and style.” The Sardar's views on Urdu were also made clear. He wrote: “In a sense, Urdu, like Hindi, cannot belong to one region. Those who

“speak and understand this language are not concentrated in one geographical area.”

What may be described in the context of subsequent developments as the Sardar's political will and testament is embodied in the fortnightly letters he wrote to the provincial Premiers while acting as Prime Minister when Nehru was abroad. Running to over 10,000 words, these letters covered a wide national and international canvas. The Sardar referred, for instance, to China, where the resistance of the Nationalist forces under Chiang Kai-Shek was fast collapsing under the onslaught of the Communist armies of Mao Tse-tung, and the repercussion of this development on India. He wanted the Premiers to be more vigilant as the Communist armies in China marched south. “Our eyes must, therefore, inevitably rest on our eastern and north-eastern frontiers. We cannot afford to relax in our efforts to seal off those frontiers against suspects and ill-disposed foreigners.” He predicted that the Chinese Communists would turn their eyes towards Tibet and try to establish control over that country. This could not “but be a matter of serious concern to us.” Patel's presentiment is amply borne out by subsequent events, for it was not many years later that Red China literally walked into Tibet and occupied it as a suzerain power.

In this long letter the Sardar also spoke of the provisions in the Constitution on the merger of States which “constitute a landmark in the history of our constitutional discussions as well as unification of the country. . . . A little more than two years ago the tendency of the rulers was to negotiate with us on a footing of equality. Today practically all distinctions between provinces and State Unions have been abolished,” and this marked “a silent revolution of great significance in the history of this country.”

The second phase of the process of unification involving the merger of small States which were not viable administrative units with neighbouring provinces, or of bringing them together to form bigger State unions, was advanced further. Party politics in some of the States, particularly Vindhya Pradesh, Bharatpur and Rajasthan, had sunk to a new low. The people of the States were being incited to support or oppose various merger proposals, and bickering and recrimination were rampant among the politicians. Despite this, Bharatpur was linked with Rajasthan, Kolhapur and Baroda with Bombay, and Indore with Madhya Bharat.

The ruler of Bhopal was, however, reluctant to merge. This resulted in considerable local tension and disorder. Ultimately,

the Sardar said in a strongly worded letter to the Nawab: "The integration of the smaller units has now caught the imagination of the people and even such important major States as Gwalior have, in the wider interests of the people, found it advisable to merge their separate entity into bigger units." It was therefore only natural that "the popular demand for Bhopal State finding its place in a larger unit should gain momentum." Nevertheless, as a concession to local sentiment, the State retained its identity as a centrally administered area till it was merged much later with Madhya Bharat.

In the South a new United State of Travancore-Cochin was born, and Mysore acceded to the Indian Union. In the far eastern portion of the country Tripura and Manipur were taken over by the Centre. The Northern States of Tehri Garhwal and Benares were combined with UP.

The Sardar's message to the first issue of the Information Magazine brought out by the Madhya Bharat Government contains a reference to the role of publicity. "A democratic Government," he wrote, "should not be too sensitive to helpful criticism as it always exercised a healthy influence on it. The aim of Government publicity organisations should therefore be to stimulate public interest to invite constructive criticism so that the Government machinery profited by it."

Sardar Patel's stand on privy purses and rights and privileges of the rulers was categorical. He wrote to Nehru from his sick bed in Bombay that the total expenditure on purses, about Rs. 2 crores or Rs. 3 crores, was an insignificant price to pay for the unity of India. The solemn undertakings and agreements with the Princes could not be left to future Parliaments to do as they liked. These were consecrated assurances and it is "our moral duty to ensure that these commitments are fully honoured both now and in future." The Constitution should guarantee these undertakings. Any other alternative would not satisfy those who had accepted in "good faith our pledges and our promises." He did not think that having taken from them everything else that mattered, any niggardly attitude should be shown in these matters. "I consider it a matter of faith and honour, and I feel it would be moral cowardice on my part if I refrained from discharging this obligation," he said, adding that he was ready to come to Delhi "merely for the sake of sponsoring these proposals." Nehru in reply doubted whether even through a constitution "any government is capable of guaranteeing any payment in perpetuity." He said:

"We shall not come to any final decision without reference to you."

The idealist and the man of action found a solution of this as of other problems unfolded in this volume. Verily the two main actors were complementary characters.

2 Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi-110001
3 March 1973

Durga Das

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

CHAPTER I
NEW COMMONWEALTH EMERGES

1

New Delhi
12 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to Krishna Menon¹ on the question of India and the Commonwealth. Also a copy of a note by B. N. Rau² on Krishna Menon's letter, a copy of which I had previously sent you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
12 January 1949

My dear Krishna,

You wrote to me on 27 December about India and the Commonwealth. I sent you a brief reply and promised to follow it up with a longer reply after consulting my colleagues. A little earlier I had written to Stafford Cripps³ on this subject. I think I sent you a copy of that letter. Stafford replied briefly that he would have a talk with Attlee⁴ and then write to me. I have not

¹V. K. Krishna Menon: Secretary, India League, London, 1929-47; Special Representative in London of Indian Government, 1946-47; High Commissioner, 1947-52; Defence Minister, resigned in 1962 after Sino-Indian conflict

²ICS; jurist and administrator; Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-45; India's Permanent Representative to UN; Judge of International Court of Justice

³MP (Lab), Lord Privy Seal and Leader of House of Commons; known for Cripps proposals in 1942; member, British Cabinet Mission, 1946

⁴Clement Richard Attlee: Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in Churchill Cabinet in second World War; Prime Minister of Britain, 1945-51

heard from him again on this subject. I was waiting for his reply before writing to you more fully.

Some days ago I sent you a telegram to indicate that opinion here was hardening on this issue because of the UK's attitude in regard to Indonesia and also Attlee's replies to me regarding Kashmir. I do not think there is the least chance of our going further than what we said in London. To that we are prepared to stick still, in spite of some opposition in our country.

I wrote to Stafford because I wanted a clear answer. I do not understand this discussion of technical and legal issues in a matter which is essentially political, as Stafford recognizes it to be. Take this business of a delegation to the Governor-General. No type or form of delegation is going to be accepted here. Indeed, it would be against the part of the Constitution which we have already passed in the Constituent Assembly.

When your letter came, I sent a copy of it to B. N. Rau. He has sent me a note on it. That represents his view and not necessarily mine. I enclose a copy of this note for you.

Some references in the British Press about India and the Commonwealth seem to me to understand our position much better than the legal luminaries there. This question must be dealt with on this political basis of a new relationship between an independent republic and the Commonwealth containing a King. I do not think there will be much difficulty about the nationality law as we have already stated.

I am writing to you briefly and not dealing with all your questions. I am leaving tomorrow morning for Calcutta. But I do want to express to you my feeling that this question cannot be tackled in a legalistic way. The political issue must be cleared up first.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri V. K. Krishna Menon
India House
London

New Delhi
14 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copies of two messages received from the UK Prime Minister. One relates to Burma.

The other relates to the proposed conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which it is now proposed to hold from 20

April onwards for about a week or so. This date is rather nearer than we had expected. You will notice that [Patrick] Gordon Walker [Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations] is due here on 1 April. Why he should spend three weeks or so in Karachi and Colombo is difficult to understand. The main question at the conference is going to be India and the Commonwealth. Perhaps the idea is that the reactions of all the other Commonwealth countries, namely, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, etc., should be first obtained. Nevertheless, it is a rather odd procedure. I suppose there is no particular point in our asking him to come here earlier. My last message to Mr. Attlee was that we shall await Gordon Walker's visit here and have talks with him and then decide about the conference. Now the conference has already been more or less fixed. In a sense the date suits us because it is between the two sessions of the Constituent Assembly. But I do not quite see what I can say in the conference except to repeat what I have previously said. The result is likely to be an inconclusive conference, with the participants going back to their respective Governments to report.

I should like to consult you about this. I do not myself see how I can easily refuse to go, though I am not at all anxious to go there.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

MESSAGE FROM MR. ATTLEE TO MR. NEHRU DATED 12 MARCH 1949

Many thanks for your message.

Sir Archibald Nye¹ has reported to me his conversation with you on this subject. We had quite appreciated here that only certain clauses of the new Indian Constitution might be brought into operation in the first instance. But we feel that by the date when your Constituent Assembly has enacted the new Constitution other Commonwealth Governments must be in a position to answer publicly questions as to what India's relationship to the Commonwealth will be when that Constitution comes into force. Further, there are special difficulties this year which would make it impossible to hold a meeting in the summer or autumn. I have now had replies from most of the

¹ Governor of Madras; first UK High Commissioner in India

other Prime Ministers. Both Mr. Chifley [Prime Minister of Australia] and Mr. Fraser [Prime Minister of New Zealand] say that owing to parliamentary business [or] impending elections they can only be absent from their countries in the second half of April. This means that if they are to be present the meeting must start on 20 April. This time will also be convenient to Mr. Senanayake [Prime Minister of Ceylon]. The Prime Minister of Canada [Mr. Mackenzie King], who now anticipates an election in the summer, feels very great difficulty about coming here himself at any time in April or May but he could be represented on 20 April by Mr. [Lester] Pearson, Minister for External Affairs. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan¹ has told me that May would be more convenient to him but I am asking him whether he can manage the rather earlier date. I have as yet had only an interim reply from South Africa.

I am sure I do not need to say that I remain as anxious as ever to find a way whereby India can remain in the closest association with the other nations of the Commonwealth under arrangements satisfactory both to India and to other Commonwealth countries. The object of the proposed meeting will be to achieve this. I should like all other Commonwealth Prime Ministers to have the advantage of personal discussion with you and I feel good hope that if you can come yourself this meeting may lay the foundations for lasting and satisfactory arrangements between India and other nations of the Commonwealth. I should be most grateful therefore if you would let me know whether you could come here for a meeting opening on 20 April. We shall, of course, hold this discussion in the same family spirit as pervaded our meeting of October last, but I know you will understand that in the special circumstances on this occasion the other Prime Ministers may feel it necessary to have some discussions among themselves.

Gordon Walker leaves here on the 9th and will visit Karachi and Colombo first. He will come to Delhi on or about 1 April. I hope this will be convenient for you.

(Message on Burma not available)

¹Member of UP provincial legislature, 1926-39; MLA (Central), 1941 and Deputy Leader of Muslim League; Finance Minister in Interim Government formed by Nehru in 1946; Prime Minister of Pakistan after partition; assassinated on 16 October, 1951

New Delhi
26 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Attlee. This is a surprisingly naive document. I just do not know what we are going to discuss in London if this is the approach of the UK Prime Minister. The other approach, that of Dr. [Herbert] Evatt [Australian Minister of External Affairs] is, in its own way, simple and childlike.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

10 Downing Street
Whitehall
20 March 1949

My dear Nehru,

I have been giving a good deal of thought to the problem of India and the Commonwealth. We shall, I hope, be meeting before long to discuss the whole matter, but I thought that I would put before you some considerations which seem to me to be relevant. They are quite unofficial and only personal ideas. I fully understand that you have to carry your people with you and it may be that you will feel it impossible to vary the line which has been followed hitherto, but I know that you have a wide vision which comprehends world movements and that you will not resent my putting these considerations before you.

We live in critical days when great changes are taking place. We both of us carry a great responsibility. Both of us believe profoundly in the freedom of the human spirit and in democracy and are solicitous for the lives of all our people. We wish that the changes which are needed should be effected with the least amount of strife and suffering. I feel, therefore, that we should preserve as much as we can the points of stability in a changing world, transforming old institutions for new uses rather than casting away entirely the old before the new can be established.

This is one of the reasons why we want to retain the Commonwealth which, whatever faults it may have had, has been a great point of stability. It has indeed shown a remarkable power of growth and adaptation and is unique in its combination of freedom and co-operation.

Hitherto the link has been the King. I say The King rather than the Crown. King George has often stressed this point to me. The Crown is an abstract symbol connoting authority, often connected in the minds of some with an external power. But the real link is a person, The King. At the head of the Commonwealth is a family. This family does in a very real sense symbolise the family nature of the Commonwealth. I think this is important in these days when there is in many parts of the world an overemphasis on the State. We are fortunate in having a Royal Family that does inspire affection not only among those who know them but among millions who have not seen them in person. People see in the Royal Family a projection of the family life which they hold dear. The family is the basic unit of society. It is something universal, transcending creeds and races. Thus not only the British, but French, Canadians, Maltese, Africans and many others, people of advanced and people of primitive culture, see this family symbol not as something alien, but as something which is their own. It is not altogether fanciful to compare this conception with that of the Holy Family in the Christian world. Christians do not consider Joseph, Mary and Jesus as Jews, but as Dutch in Holland, Welsh in Wales and Chinese in China.

The existence, therefore, of a King and Royal Family provides a mystique which is appreciated by a very wide range of people, and a mystique is a valuable point of unity and stability. Their very remoteness from the play of politics and the clash of creeds make them a unifying influence. They are above the battle.

Now, by contrast, in a republic there is a transitory head of the State. He may or may not appeal to all the people. He may, like President Roosevelt in the USA, be bitterly hated by a large section of the people. (The Americans have their own mystique of the Constitution.) The Presidency is a goal of ambition. The ideal position would be that the President should be above the battle, but this is very seldom achieved in practice.

If one looks round the world, the only republics which are at the same time both democratic and stable are those of the USA and Switzerland. In Eastern Europe and in the Iberian Peninsula the republics are, from our point of view, undemocratic and dictatorial. In France and Italy they are unstable. In Latin America, republics tend to be dictatorships in practice, though democratic in theory. Political changes are effected more often by coups d'etat than by elections. They all compare unfavourably from the point of view of freedom and democracy with the constitutional monarchies of Western Europe. In the latter, Governments change without violence. The

head of the State remains. The changeover in Britain in 1945, when the outstanding figure of the war was quietly displaced by democratic process, was an object lesson in democracy. I know it surprised Stalin.

The existence of the monarchy prevents a single individual from getting all the limelight and seizing power. If Britain had been a republic and we had had a presidential election, Churchill would have been elected as the man in the limelight, but in fact he had to go to election burdened with a discredited party, and that caused his defeat.

As you know, we have found it very difficult to find a satisfactory alternative to the Crown as the legal basis of the special Commonwealth relationship. I share your impatience of legal abstractions and subtleties; and I dare say we could get round this difficulty, or agree to face it. But it is not the legal importance of the Crown I am anxious to stress now so much as the psychological importance of the position of King George and his family.

How does this apply in the case of India? Does a republic really appeal to the masses in India? Here you may say with justice that I am trespassing on ground with which you are far more familiar than I can be. Yet I would venture some observations.

I should have said that the general tradition in Asia is in favour of monarchy. I think that is true of India historically. I get still a great many letters addressed to me to be forwarded to the King, which is some evidence of the strength of the tradition. Republicanism is an alien importation from Europe derived from 19th century liberalism and appreciated and understood by a comparatively small intelligentsia. The Asiatic republics are few and of recent establishment. Their record is not very encouraging. They tend to degenerate into dictatorships or oligarchies. They offer a prize for the ambitious authoritarian individual.

You in India were very fortunate in that the man who caught the imagination of the people was Gandhi, a saint who believed in non-violence. Had your national movement been led by a man of a different sort, you might well have had a dictatorship, for only too often in history democratic nationalist movements have resulted in dictatorships. At the present time, with statesmen such as yourself, Sardar Patel and Rajagopalachari in the leading positions, the danger of a dictatorship may seem remote, but it might arise in a great sub-continent like India.

You may object that The King is an Englishman, a man of alien race, representing a domination now past and over. I wonder if this objection is entirely valid. I am an Englishman, but for centuries the English have had Kings who have been Angevin, Welsh, Scottish, Dutch and German, and we have not worried about it. I do not think that people in the Commonwealth think of The King as specifically English. Difference of race has not prevented a fervent loyalty among Africans in the Colonies.

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I think there are, therefore, solid advantages in retaining The King in the Indian Constitution. Of course, his representative would be, as in other parts of the Commonwealth, recommended by the Indian Prime Minister. The convention of acceptance of the nominee of the Prime Minister is well established. He might or might not be selected by some form of election. For myself, I think it is better that he should be appointed on the recommendation of the Prime Minister because I do not think that he should be a rival to the Prime Minister with a separate mandate from the people. I think that he should be above the battle.

I wonder whether it would not be possible to draw from Indian history distinctive titles for The King and for the King's representative. I am not well enough instructed in your history to know whether this is possible, but President is rather a European than an Asiatic conception. Perhaps there might be some title going back to your heroic age. Could not something be found more inspiring than republic and president? Some title that would be a point of unity for all the peoples of India drawn from their common past?

You will, I hope, excuse this long screed and will credit me with a desire to help. I am deeply concerned with two things: the peace of the world, to which I believe that the Commonwealth can make a great contribution, and the peace, prosperity and stability of India and the well-being of the Indian people.

Yours very sincerely,
C. R. Attlee

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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TELEGRAM

2 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

BAJPAL¹ FROM B. N. RAU. AS RESULT OF MESSAGE AWAITING ME UPON ARRIVAL HERE I SAW LORD CHANCELLOR YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. INEVITABLY WE DISCUSSED LATEST PHASE OF COMMONWEALTH PROBLEM. I EXPLAINED THAT THERE WAS NO LACK OF UNDERSTANDING ON INDIAN SIDE OF DEEP-ROOTED SENTIMENT FELT FOR THE CROWN IN UK AND ELSEWHERE BUT THERE

¹ICS; Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; adviser on deputation to UN Security Council for discussions on Kashmir Governor of Bombay.

WERE REAL POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES; THERE WERE PARTIES IN INDIA WHO WERE OPPOSED TO COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP ON ANY BASIS. OWING TO RECENT EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND STATEMENTS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY IN AUSTRALIA AND CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS, INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION WAS PECULIARLY SENSITIVE AND EVEN SUSPICIOUS JUST NOW. THOSE WHO DESIRED INDIA TO REMAIN IN COMMONWEALTH SHOULD MAKE IT AS EASY AS POSSIBLE FOR HER TO DO SO AND SHOULD AVOID IMPOSING CONDITIONS WHICH HOWEVER REASONABLE THEY MAY SEEM TO BRITISH SENTIMENT COULD BE REPRESENTED OR EVEN MISREPRESENTED AS IMPAIRING INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE. LORD CHANCELLOR WAS GOOD ENOUGH TO SAY THAT HE FULLY APPRECIATED THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION. HE HAD HOWEVER PREPARED IN ADVANCE OF OUR MEETING A SHORT STATEMENT WHICH HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO BE COMMUNICATED TO PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA FOR CONSIDERATION. BUT HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT STATEMENT WAS HIS OWN DRAFT AND HAD NOT EVEN BEEN SEEN BY CABINET HERE. STATEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:

"INDIA, BY THE FREE VOICE OF HER PEOPLE, HAS BECOME AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC, ALIKE IN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"AT THE SAME TIME SHE DESIRES BY THE FREE VOICE OF HER PEOPLE TO REMAIN A MEMBER OF THAT COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS OF WHICH GREAT BRITAIN, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON ARE ALSO MEMBERS.

"SHE AS A MEMBER OF THAT COMMONWEALTH RECOGNISES THAT POSITION OF THE KING AS THE (FOUNTAIN) HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF WHICH SHE FREELY ELECTS TO BECOME A MEMBER.

"SO LONG AS INDIA DECIDES TO REMAIN WITHIN THAT COMMONWEALTH THERE WILL ACCORDINGLY EXIST A SPECIALLY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HER AND THE OTHER SISTER STATES THEREOF."

I NATURALLY REFRAINED FROM COMMENTING ON STATEMENT IN ANY WAY AND HAVE TELEGRAPHED IT TO YOU PARTLY BECAUSE LORD CHANCELLOR DESIRED IT TO BE COMMUNICATED TO PRIME MINISTER AND PARTLY BECAUSE IT WILL GIVE PRIME MINISTER SOME INDICATION OF HOW MINDS ARE WORKING AT THIS END. LORD CHANCELLOR HOPES THAT PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA WITH HIS GIFT FOR PHRASING MIGHT BE ABLE TO SUGGEST SOMETHING, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THIRD PARA OF STATEMENT WHICH WITHOUT BEING TOO DEFINITE MIGHT SATISFY SENTIMENT. I AM REMAINING HERE FOR

THREE OR FOUR DAYS LONGER AND THEN PROCEEDING TO NEW YORK FOR SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION ON 11 APRIL.

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New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose two papers in regard to India and the Commonwealth. One is Points of Agreement (not for publication); the other is a declaration that might be made on behalf of the [Prime Ministers'] Conference.

These are merely our latest drafts. There is no finality in them and if anything strikes us we shall revise the draft. It will then be considered in London. Much will depend upon developments there.

I might mention that these drafts are largely based upon the language used in the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1926, and the Statute of Westminster. All that we have left out is the common allegiance to the Crown. Repeating the old language has a certain advantage.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

- A. (1) Under its new Constitution which is now before the Constituent Assembly, India will become a Sovereign Republic. An elected President will be the Head of the Republic.
- (2) India wishes to retain her association with the Commonwealth after she becomes a Republic. On the assumption that this desire is shared by other members of the Commonwealth, the change in India's constitutional status requires a restatement of the basis of this association.
- (3) The presence, in the Commonwealth, as independent sovereign units, of India, Pakistan and Ceylon also requires a change of nomenclature.
- (4) The following are suggested as essential parts of a new statement of the basis of Commonwealth association.

- (a) Reaffirmation by all members of the Commonwealth of their continued free association as autonomous communities within the Commonwealth, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs;
 - (b) Continued acceptance of the King as the symbol of this association;
 - (c) A Commonwealth citizenship.
 - (5) The British Commonwealth of Nations should be renamed the "Commonwealth of Free Nations."
- B.
- (i) Each independent member of the Commonwealth shall establish a Commonwealth citizenship on the lines of sub-section (ii) of Section i of the British Nationality Act.
 - (ii) So far as India is concerned, the continued acceptance of the King as the common link of the Commonwealth association will be subject to the following:
 - (a) Since the President of the Indian Republic will be the Head of the Republic, the King's status vis-a-vis India will be limited to his status as the symbol of the free association of the nations of the Commonwealth.
 - (b) Any functions which the King may exercise by virtue of his status as the symbol of Commonwealth association will be based upon agreements reached by the members of the association.

DECLARATION

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon constitute a Commonwealth of free and independent nations, voluntarily associated, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs. The King is the symbol of this free association, a common citizenship, another mark of its uniqueness. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. Every member is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, but no common cause need thereby be imperilled.

TELEGRAM

23 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. FOLLOWING IS TELEGRAM REFERRED TO IN MY IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDING MESSAGE. DRAFT DECLARATION BY AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, CANADA ETC. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVING INFORMED THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS OF THE IMPENDING SETTING UP OF A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC OF INDIA UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION TO BE ADOPTED BY THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND OF THEIR DESIRE TO CONTINUE AS MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND HAVING MADE A SOLEMN DECLARATION OF INDIA'S INTENTION SO TO CONTINUE UPON THE CONDITION SET FORTH IN THE DECLARATION OF THE..... DAY OF.....1949. ALL THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEING THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH IRELAND ETC. ETC. DO THEMSELVES SEVERALLY AND JOINTLY PROCLAIM AND DECLARE THEIR CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS WHEREIN THEY ARE BOUND IN DUTY BOUND IN UNITY BY THEIR COMMON ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN WHICH IS ALSO THE SYMBOL OF THEIR FREE ASSOCIATION AND DO ACCEPT AND RECOGNISE INDIA'S CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THEIR DECLARATION OF TODAY'S DATE.

TELEGRAM

23 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. DRAFT DECLARATION BY INDIA. WHEREAS THE NEW CONSTITUTION BY INDIA PROVIDES THAT INDIA SHALL BE A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT

REPUBLIC THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HEREBY DECLARE AND AFFIRM INDIA'S CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AS NOW SUBSISTING BY THE FREE WILL OF ITS MEMBER PEOPLES AND HER ACCEPTANCE OF THE KING HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH AS THE SYMBOL OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF THE INDEPENDENT MEMBER NATION WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH.

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TELEGRAM

23 April 1949

From Foreign, New Delhi
To Hicomind, London

FROM SARDAR PATEL FOR KRISHNA MENON. REFERENCE JAWAHARLAL'S TELEGRAMS DATED 22 APRIL. PLEASE CONVEY TO HIM FOLLOWING MESSAGE. BEGINS. OUR POSITION THROUGHOUT HAS BEEN AND SHOULD BE THAT BY OUR ASSOCIATION WITH COMMONWEALTH OUR STATUS AS SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC MUST NOT BE AFFECTED. I FEEL THAT BY RECOGNITION OF KING AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH AS A SYMBOL OF FREE ASSOCIATION OF ITS MEMBERS WE DO NOT DEROGATE FROM THAT STATUS. HEADSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH WITH THIS RESTRICTION DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY ALLEGIANCE TO KINGSHIP. INDEED FORMULA EVOLVED ACKNOWLEDGES DISTINCTION BETWEEN KING AS HEAD OF INDIVIDUAL STATE WHEREIN HE WOULD BE CONSTITUTIONAL REPOSITORY OF AUTHORITY AND KING AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH WHEREIN HE WOULD BE MERE SYMBOL OF OUR FREE ASSOCIATION. WE CAN ALSO EMPHASISE THAT COMMONWEALTH UNDER OUR DECLARATION IN TERMS OF WHICH OUR MEMBERSHIP IS BEING ACCEPTED WOULD SUBSIST NOT BY ALLEGIANCE TO KING BUT BY EXERCISE OF FREE WILL OF ITS MEMBER PEOPLES, THEREBY ACCENTUATING MERE SYMBOLIC CHARACTER OF KING. ON THE WHOLE, THEREFORE, I FEEL WE CAN JUSTIFY ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH HEADSHIP AS CONSISTENT WITH OUR OBJECTIVES AND PAST COMMITMENTS AND IN NO SENSE DEROGATORY TO OUR REPUBLIC SOVEREIGN STATUS.

I FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT DECLARATION BY OTHER MEMBERS AS IT STANDS IS SUGGESTIVE OF AN INFERIOR CLASS OF MEMBERSHIP FOR US AND SUPERIOR ONE FOR OTHERS. IT GIVES IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE MERE ASSOCIATE MEMBERS. I WOULD SUGGEST YOUR TRYING TO SECURE MODIFICATION OR OTHERWISE SECURE CLARIFICATION OF THAT DECLARATION SO AS TO REFER TO ALLEGIANCE TO CROWN AS A BOND OF UNITY BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND NOT AS MEMBERS

OF COMMONWEALTH. AFTER ALL, INDIA'S MEMBERSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH DOES REMOVE ALLEGIANCE TO CROWN AS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR IN UNITY OF COMMONWEALTH AND I SEE NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD BE EMPHASISED AS SUCH IN RELATION TO MEMBERSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH FOR OTHERS. AT THE SAME TIME I APPRECIATE DESIRE OF OTHER MEMBERS TO PRESERVE NEXUS OF ALLEGIANCE BETWEEN THEMSELVES. I WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST REDRAFT OF LAST SENTENCE OF THAT DECLARATION AS FOLLOWS QUOTE ALL THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BEING THE UNITED KINGDOM ETC. BOUND TOGETHER IN COMMON ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN, WHICH IS ALSO THE SYMBOL OF THEIR FREE ASSOCIATION AND MEMBERS OF SUCH COMMONWEALTH, DO THEMSELVES SEVERALLY AND JOINTLY PROCLAIM AND DECLARE THEIR CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND DO ACCEPT AND RECOGNISE INDIA'S CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP THEREOF IN TERMS OF THEIR DECLARATION OF TODAY'S DATE UNQUOTE ENDS.

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TELEGRAM

23 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

SARDAR PATEL FROM KRISHNA MENON. VARIOUS COMMENTS, FORECASTS AND SPECULATIONS APPEAR IN CERTAIN NEWSPAPERS HERE AND MAY BE APPEARING ABROAD ALSO IN REGARD TO PROCEEDINGS OF PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE AND ALLEGED PROPOSALS OR AGREEMENTS. PLEASE ATTACH NO IMPORTANCE TO THEM AS ALL THESE ARE MERE GUESSWORK OR WILD SPECULATION. YESTERDAY'S TELEGRAMS FROM PANDITJI TO YOU SETS OUT THE ACTUAL POSITION UP-TO-DATE.

PANDITJI IS OUT OF LONDON AND HE THOUGHT THAT I MIGHT MENTION THE ABOVE TO YOU IN CASE THESE REPORTS MIGHT CREATE WRONG IMPRESSIONS ON SOME PEOPLE THERE.
PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE TELEGRAM.

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TELEGRAM

23 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. CONTINUATION MY TELEGRAMS DATED 22 APRIL. IN FIRST PARA OF PROPOSED DECLARATION BY AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND ETC. PHRASE "BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS" OCCURS. THIS IS ONLY BECAUSE THIS IS PRESENT CORRECT DESCRIPTION OF COMMONWEALTH. AS YOU WILL OBSERVE ALL SUBSEQUENT REFERENCE IN THIS DECLARATION AND IN DECLARATION PROPOSED TO BE MADE ON BEHALF OF INDIA IS TO "COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS". PHRASE "BRITISH" IS THEREFORE TO BE DROPPED HEREAFTER.

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TELEGRAM

24 April 1949

From Foreign, New Delhi
To Hicomind, London

FROM SARDAR PATEL FOR KRISHNA MENON. PERSONAL. THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF 23 APRIL. I QUITE UNDERSTAND THE POSITION.

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TELEGRAM

26 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 23 APRIL. WEEK INFORMAL TALKS REVEALED PREFERENCE FOR ONE DECLARATION BY ALL. AFTER DISCUSSION AT YESTERDAY MORNING MEETING REVISED DRAFT REPEATED IN MY

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IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM WAS GENERALLY AGREED UPON. FOLLOWING OUTSTANDING POINTS WILL BE DISCUSSED TODAY.

(1) INSERTION OF "BRITISH" BEFORE "COMMONWEALTH". AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND ARE KEEN ON THIS. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE WE SHALL NOT OPPOSE SUCH INSERTION IN FIRST PARAGRAPH WHICH PURPORTS TO STATE PRESENT STATUTORY POSITION WE SHALL NOT AGREE TO ADDITION OF "BRITISH" TO "COMMONWEALTH" ANYWHERE ELSE IN DRAFT.

(2) "HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH". SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT LIKE IT AND HAS RESERVED ITS FINAL VIEW ON USE OF PHRASE TILL THIS MORNING. WE DO NOT PROPOSE TO OBJECT TO RETENTION THOUGH EQUALLY WE SHALL ACCEPT OMISSION.

(3) IN CLAUSE "BASIS OF WHOSE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS NOT HEREBY CHANGED" IN PARAGRAPH 2, PAKISTAN HAS EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR SUBSTITUTION OF "RELATIONSHIP WITH" FOR "MEMBERSHIP OF". THIS IS INACCURATE BECAUSE DECLARATION DOES NOT CHANGE BASIS OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG MEMBERS OF COMMONWEALTH BUT BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP SINCE INDIA RENOUNCES ALLEGIANCE TO KING AND OTHERS DO NOT. PAKISTAN AMENDMENT HAS NO SUPPORT AND MAY NOT BE PRESSED.

2. NO PREFERENCE TO COMMONWEALTH CITIZENSHIP IS PROPOSED IN DECLARATION. IN MINUTES OF CONFERENCE HOWEVER PROVISION WILL BE MADE THAT EACH MEMBER GOVERNMENT OF COMMONWEALTH WILL TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE

(1) THAT NATIONALS OF OTHER MEMBER NATIONS ARE NOT TREATED AS FOREIGNERS AND

(2) THAT INDIA'S TRADE IS NOT TREATED AS TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRY.

3. CONFERENCE SHOULD FINISH TOMORROW.

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TELEGRAM

26 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM REFERS. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON WHOSE COUNTRIES ARE UNITED

AS MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND OWE A COMMON ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN WHICH IS ALSO THE SYMBOL OF THEIR FREE ASSOCIATION HAVE CONSIDERED THE IMPENDING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN INDIA. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVE INFORMED THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE INTENTION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE THAT UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH IS ABOUT TO BE ADOPTED INDIA SHALL BECOME SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVE HOWEVER DECLARED AND AFFIRMED INDIA'S DESIRE TO CONTINUE HER FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND HER ACCEPTANCE OF THE KING AS THE SYMBOL OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF THE INDEPENDENT MEMBER NATIONS AND THUS THE HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH THE BASIS OF WHOSE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS NOT HEREBY CHANGED ACCEPT AND RECOGNISE INDIA'S CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THIS DECLARATION. ACCORDINGLY THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON HEREBY DECLARE THAT THEY REMAIN UNITED AS FREE AND EQUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS FREELY COOPERATING IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE LIBERTY AND PROGRESS.

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TELEGRAM

26 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU TO SARDAR PATEL. CONTINUATION MY EARLIER TELEGRAMS OF TODAY. AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING, DRAFT DECLARATION REPEATED IN MY TELEGRAM OF TODAY WAS DISCUSSED. WORD "BRITISH" WAS INSERTED BEFORE "COMMONWEALTH" IN FIRST PARA BUT DOES NOT (REPEAT NOT) OCCUR ANYWHERE ELSE. SOUTH AFRICA WILL AGREE TO RETENTION OF "HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH" BUT THERE WILL BE A RECORD IN THE MINUTES AS FOLLOWS. BEGINS. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION BY DOCTOR MALAN, THE MEETING AGREED THAT IT SHOULD BE PLACED ON RECORD THAT THE DESIGNATION OF THE KING AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH DOES NOT (REPEAT NOT) CONNOTE ANY CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND IN PARTICULAR, DOES NOT IMPLY THAT THE KING DISCHARGES ANY CONSTITUTIONAL

FUNCTION BY VIRTUE OF THE HEADSHIP. ENDS. THIS WILL NOT BE IN THE DECLARATION BUT COULD BE USED FOR EXPLANATORY PURPOSES. PAKISTAN DID NOT PRESS FOR CHANGE MENTIONED IN PARA 1(3) MY TELEGRAM. DECLARATION IS LIKELY TO BE FINALISED AT THIS EVENING'S MEETING PRACTICALLY AS IT STANDS.

2. GENERAL FEELING AT MEETING WAS THAT TO AVOID EMBARRASSMENT WITH PRESS WHICH MUST ENSUE IF NOTHING IS PUBLISHED AT END OF CONFERENCE, DECLARATION ITSELF SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC. AS MOST PRIME MINISTERS AGREED TO ACCEPT DECLARATION ON BEHALF OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS, I HAVE AGREED TO DO LIKEWISE. I SHALL TELEGRAPH DATE OF PUBLICATION AS SOON AS THIS HAS BEEN DETERMINED. IF NECESSARY I SHALL ALSO TELEGRAPH FULL TEXT OF WHAT IS TO BE ISSUED TO PRESS.

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TELEGRAM

26 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FOLLOWING FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL.

1. MY IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM GIVES FULL TEXT OF PRESS COMMUNIQUE WHICH WAS APPROVED AT TONIGHT'S MEETING. IT INCLUDES TEXT OF DECLARATION AS FINALLY AGREED UPON.
2. PLEASE ENSURE THAT COMMUNIQUE IS NOT BROADCAST BEFORE 6.30 A.M. INDIAN STANDARD TIME THURSDAY, 28 APRIL NOR RELEASED TO PRESS FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE THURSDAY MORNING PAPERS.
3. ALL PRIME MINISTERS WILL CALL ON KING TOMORROW AT 12.30 P.M. WHEN CONCLUSIONS OF CONFERENCE WILL BE REPORTED TO HIM.

TELEGRAM

26 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM DATED 26 APRIL 1949. PRESS COMMUNIQUE BEGINS.

DURING THE PAST WEEK THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON AND THE CANADIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS HAVE MET IN LONDON TO EXCHANGE VIEWS UPON THE IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES ARISING FROM INDIA'S DECISION TO ADOPT A REPUBLICAN FORM OF CONSTITUTION AND HER DESIRE TO CONTINUE HER MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE EFFECTS OF SUCH A DEVELOPMENT UPON THE EXISTING STRUCTURE OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ITS MEMBERS. THEY HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF GOODWILL AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND HAVE HAD AS THEIR HISTORICAL BACKGROUND THE TRADITIONAL CAPACITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO STRENGTHEN ITS UNITY OF PURPOSE WHILE ADAPTING ITS ORGANISATION AND PROCEDURES TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES.

AFTER FULL DISCUSSION THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALL THE COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES HAVE AGREED THAT THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED SHOULD BE PLACED ON RECORD IN THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION. "THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON WHOSE COUNTRIES ARE UNITED AS MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND OWE A COMMON ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN, WHICH IS ALSO THE SYMBOL OF THEIR FREE ASSOCIATION, HAVE CONSIDERED THE IMPENDING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN INDIA.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVE INFORMED THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE INTENTION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE THAT UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH IS ABOUT TO BE ADOPTED

INDIA SHALL BECOME A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAVE HOWEVER DECLARED AND AFFIRMED INDIA'S DESIRE TO CONTINUE HER FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND HER ACCEPTANCE OF THE KING AS THE SYMBOL OF THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF ITS INDEPENDENT MEMBER NATIONS AND AS SUCH THE HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, THE BASIS OF WHOSE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS NOT HEREBY CHANGED, ACCEPT AND RECOGNISE INDIA'S CONTINUING MEMBERSHIP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THIS DECLARATION. ACCORDINGLY THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN AND CEYLON HEREBY DECLARE THAT THEY REMAIN UNITED AS FREE AND EQUAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, FREELY COOPERATING IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE, LIBERTY AND PROGRESS."

THESE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN THE SOLE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION AT THE FULL MEETINGS OF PRIME MINISTERS. ENDS.

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TELEGRAM

27 April 1949

From Hicomind, London

To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL.

1. BESIDES MALAN'S MINUTE ON 'HEADSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH' WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN TELEGRAPHED TO YOU TODAY, THERE ARE TWO OTHER AGREED MINUTES, ONE SUGGESTED BY LIAQUAT ALI KHAN AND OTHER ON PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT. TEXT OF THESE TWO IS BEING TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY.

2. I SUGGEST THAT YOU HOLD INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE ON THURSDAY, 28 APRIL, AT WHICH SIGNIFICANCE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW DECLARATION CAN BE EXPLAINED. IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU CAN MAKE USE OF SUBSTANCE OF MALAN'S MINUTE TO BRING OUT SIGNIFICANCE OF KING'S 'HEADSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH'.

3. PLEASE NOTE THAT TEXT OF NONE OF THREE MINUTES REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 1 IS FOR PUBLICATION.

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 April 1949

FROM SARDAR PATEL FOR JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAMS OF 26 APRIL. AM VERY GLAD TO KNOW THAT CONFERENCE IS CONCLUDING SATISFACTORILY. THE DECLARATION IN ITS FINAL FORM IS SOME IMPROVEMENT ON EARLIER TWO DECLARATIONS. IN FIRST PLACE IT IS NOW QUITE CLEAR NO ALLEGIANCE TO KING IS INVOLVED AND AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH HE HAS NO CONSTITUTIONAL FUNCTIONS. CLARIFICATION SOUGHT BY DR. MALAN IS THEREFORE HELPFUL TO US. SECONDLY OUR MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE FULL AND EQUAL. I THINK FUNDAMENTALLY OUR OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED AND OUR POSITION AS INDIAN REPUBLIC FULLY SAFEGUARDED. PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF YOUR EFFORTS. NO ONE KNOWS BETTER THAN MYSELF. HOW HARD YOU HAVE WORKED FOR THIS HAPPY TERMINATION OF DELICATE AND PROLONGED NEGOTIATIONS. PLEASE CONVEY TO ATTLEE AND CRIPPS MY REGARDS AND PERSONAL GRATITUDE FOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY WITH OUR POINT OF VIEW AND FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE IN ACHIEVING THE FINAL RESULT.

TELEGRAM

27 April 1949

From Hicomind, London
To Foreign, New Delhi

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FOR SARDAR PATEL. WE HAVE ALREADY SENT YOU COPY OF DECLARATION AND MINUTES OF PRIME MINISTERS' MEETING. ALL PRIME MINISTERS VISITED THE KING TODAY TO INFORM HIM OF DECISION TAKEN WHICH HE WELCOMED. DURING CONFERENCE CANADA'S AND SOUTH AFRICA'S ATTITUDE VERY FAVOURABLE TO US. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND ATTITUDE VERY FRIENDLY BUT TOO MUCH TIED UP WITH OLD CONCEPTION OF

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH TO LIKE ANY CHANGE. PAKISTAN RATHER OBSTRUCTIVE CEYLON DID NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS HAPPENING. UK GOVERNMENT GENERALLY HELPFUL TRYING TO STEER MIDDLE COURSE. I THINK THAT DECISIONS ARRIVED AT ARE GOOD FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. INDIA'S NEW STATUS AS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC FULLY RECOGNISED. AT SAME TIME SHE IS EQUAL MEMBER OF COMMONWEALTH. NO COMMITMENT IN REGARD TO INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL POLICY. IN FUTURE COMMONWEALTH TO BE KNOWN AS COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS AND KING'S DESIGNATION AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH SPECIALLY RELATED TO HIS BEING SYMBOL. MINUTE ATTACHED MAKES CLEAR THAT KING AS SUCH SYMBOL HAS NO FUNCTIONS OF ANY KIND. IT HAS BEEN MADE PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT COMMONWEALTH [is] NO SUPER STATE IN ANY SENSE BUT IS ORGANISATION OF INDEPENDENT MEMBERS. I SHOULD HAVE PREFERRED DELETION OF HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH BUT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS NOT WORTHWHILE FIGHTING FOR THIS. ON THE WHOLE HOWEVER I FEEL THAT DECISIONS ARE GOOD. WORK OF PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE CARRIED ON WITH GOOD TEMPER EXCEPT OCCASIONAL PAKISTAN INTRUSIONS GENERAL SATISFACTION PREVAILS ALL ROUND. I HAVE SUGGESTED TO YOU TO MEET INFORMALLY SOME PRESSMEN IN THIS REGARD AND EXPRESS TO THEM SIGNIFICANCE OF DECISIONS WHICH IN FACT COMPLETELY MEET OUR VIEW POINT. I AM HAVING FINAL INTERVIEW WITH KING ON FRIDAY. THIS WILL BE MY LAST INTERVIEW AS ONE OF HIS PRIME MINISTERS. I AM GOING TO DUBLIN FRIDAY TOMORROW AT INVITATION OF GOVERNMENT THERE. SPENDING SATURDAY AND SUNDAY AT BROADLANDS LEAVING LONDON TUESDAY MORNING FOR SWITZERLAND. HOPE REACH BOMBAY 6 MAY NIGHT BY AIR INDIA.

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TELEGRAM

28 April 1949

From Foreign, New Delhi
To Hicomind, London

FOR JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM SARDAR PATEL. MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 27 APRIL. AS DESIRED BY YOU, I HELD AN INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY A VERBATIM REPORT OF WHICH IS BEING SENT TO YOU SEPARATELY. CLARIFICATION WAS SOUGHT ON FUNCTIONS OF KING AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH, ON CITIZENSHIP, ON IMPERIAL PREFERENCE, ON INDIA'S

POSITION IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ON EFFECT ON FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICIES OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT. FIRST QUESTION I HAVE EXPLAINED ON BASIS OF DR. MALAN'S MINUTE. ON OTHER QUESTIONS I HAVE TAKEN THE LINE THAT MEMBERSHIP OF COMMONWEALTH CARRIES CERTAIN OBLIGATIONS INHERENT IN CLOSE ASSOCIATION AND ADVANTAGES FLOWING FROM MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP AND CONTACTS. I EMPHASISED THAT INDIA'S REPUBLICAN STATUS WILL REMAIN UNAFFECTED AND THAT IN EVERY FIELD OF POLICY, FOREIGN, DEFENCE OR ANY OTHER, INDIA WOULD HAVE COMPLETE FREEDOM THOUGH ASSOCIATION WITH COMMONWEALTH WILL INEVITABLY HAVE SOME INFLUENCE IN DETERMINATION OF OUR POLICY.

REACTIONS AT PRESS CONFERENCE SEEM GENERALLY FAVOURABLE. SOME PAPERS HAVE COME OUT WITH EDITORIALS WHICH ARE GENERALLY FRIENDLY AND APPRECIATIVE OF OUR ATTITUDE. I AM RATHER CONCERNED OVER DR. PATTABHI'S¹ REPORTED STATEMENT AT MADRAS THAT HE IS NEITHER DEPRESSED NOR ELATED, THAT DECISION DOES NOT MEAN ANYTHING TO COMMON MEN THOUGH IT MAY MEAN SOMETHING TO UNCOMMON MEN AND THAT RECOGNITION OF KING AS HEAD OF COMMONWEALTH MERELY MEANS LESS COLOUR IN HIS APPAREL. ON THE WHOLE, HOWEVER, I DO NOT EXPECT ANY WELL-FOUNDED CRITICISM, THOUGH I AM AFRAID THERE MAY BE SOME UNCHARITABLE REMARKS ABOUT KING AS IN DR. PATTABHI'S COMMENTS. I HAVE ASKED ALL INDIA RADIO NOT TO BROADCAST ANY SUCH REFERENCES.

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1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
6 January 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

[T.G.] Sanjevi² has already given you a note regarding his visit to the UK. There were certain matters which he felt were unsuitable for being placed on record, about which he wrote separately to [H.V.R.] Iengar³ [See Enclosure]. The latter has, on my instructions, probably already shown to you Sanjevi's letter.

¹ Member AICC from Andhra; Congress President, Jaipur session, 1948-50; President, All-India States Peoples' Conference 1936 and 1946-48; member, CA, 1946-50; Governor of MP

² IP, Director, Central Intelligence Bureau

³ ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Planning, Government of India; Principal Private Secretary to Nehru; Home Secretary under Sardar Patel; Governor, Reserve Bank of India

I need hardly say that I feel very distressed about it and am deeply pained to find Krishna Menon adopting the attitude and views which he expressed in his interviews with Sanjevi. I am thinking how I should formulate my own attitude on this question, but I thought I should let you know that I was passing through a period of mental distress and anxiety on this issue.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

6 January 1949

My dear Iengar,

I am writing in continuation of my D.O., dated 4 January 1949, to which I had enclosed a note on my interview with Mr. Krishna Menon, High Commissioner for India in London.

2. During my conversation with him he was repeatedly saying to me, in connection with the action against Communists in India, "You have done this," "You are doing this," and actually at one stage when I told him of the murders and atrocities committed by Communists in India, he even retorted that it was I who was murdering Communists. I was left in no doubt that when he attacked the action taken by the Government of India against the Communists, he was referring to the Ministry of Home Affairs, though he did not say it in as many words.

3. During my conversations with Sir Percy Sillitoe [Director-General of UK Security Service] and his senior officers I asked for information why a certain section of the British Press was so critical of the Government of India's action against Communists. I was told that Mr. Krishna Menon's strong Communist views and sympathies were well known in England and to the British Press, and some of those responsible for the criticism were personally known to Mr. Krishna Menon. I gathered that the British Cabinet was fully aware of Mr. Krishna Menon's Communist sympathies and that on occasions the communication of secret information to him has caused them considerable concern, as they were not sure that the secrecy would be maintained. One of the senior officers told me in confidence that if Mr. Krishna Menon claimed that he had the trust and confidence of Mr. Attlee and his colleagues, it was not true. Official etiquette and consideration required

him of the murders, pillage, arson and loot committed by the Communists in these areas and said that whatever action the Government of India had taken or are taking was solely with a view to maintain law and order, and that if this action was not taken the Communists would have before now started an armed [insurrection] similar to what was happening in Burma. The High Commissioner was not satisfied. I asked him if he had seen any of the periodical reports of the Intelligence Bureau or any of the Press communiques issued by the Government of India. His reply was brief and curt. He told me that he saw only such reports and papers as he desired to see. He then told me that the Government of India could with greater advantage use the Intelligence Bureau for rounding up black-marketeers and the agents for corruption instead of hounding and harassing the Communists. He then accused me as Director of the Intelligence Bureau of opening his letters to India. He said he had refrained from writing to his sister in India, as he knew I was opening his letters. I told him he was wrong. He next mentioned to me the strong criticism that is voiced in a section of the British Press against the India Government's action in suppressing Communist activities. I asked him if an effort was ever made to put that section of the Press wise in regard to the real nature of Communist activities in India and Government's action against them. He said that the British Press knew of all that was happening in India. He wound up the conversation with the remark that he would ring up Mr. Attlee the next morning and tell him of my presence in London, and asked me to suggest to Sir Percy Sillitoe, Director-General of the UK Security Service, to tell his Prime Minister of my visit.

3. I saw the High Commissioner again the following Wednesday and briefly mentioned to him my conversation with Sir Percy Sillitoe. This gave him another occasion to criticise the India Government's action against the Communists. I again explained to him that the Communist Party of India did not think, work or act in the same manner as the Communist Party of Great Britain. While the Communists in India are pledged to subversion by violence, the Communist Party of Great Britain were organised and functioned as a political party. My wife was present with me during this conversation. Mr. Menon was as uncompromising in his attack on the policy of the Government of India this time as when I saw him on Sunday, 5 December.

4. I saw Mr. Krishna Menon again on the 23rd, when I went to say good-bye to him. I was leaving London that night for Cairo. My interview lasted about a quarter of an hour. He mentioned to me the question of security measures in India House and his proposals in that regard which he had submitted to the Government of India. He proposes to employ Mr. Reeves, lately Inspector of Police, Delhi, as Security Officer in India House. He asked for a confidential stenographer to assist him. He proposes also to engage Mr. Evans, formerly Inspector of Scotland Yard and now running a private

him of the murders, pillage, arson and loot committed by the Communists in these areas and said that whatever action the Government of India had taken or are taking was solely with a view to maintain law and order, and that if this action was not taken the Communists would have before now started an armed [insurrection] similar to what was happening in Burma. The High Commissioner was not satisfied. I asked him if he had seen any of the periodical reports of the Intelligence Bureau or any of the Press communiques issued by the Government of India. His reply was brief and curt. He told me that he saw only such reports and papers as he desired to see. He then told me that the Government of India could with greater advantage use the Intelligence Bureau for rounding up black-marketeers and the agents for corruption instead of hounding and harassing the Communists. He then accused me as Director of the Intelligence Bureau of opening his letters to India. He said he had refrained from writing to his sister in India, as he knew I was opening his letters. I told him he was wrong. He next mentioned to me the strong criticism that is voiced in a section of the British Press against the India Government's action in suppressing Communist activities. I asked him if an effort was ever made to put that section of the Press wise in regard to the real nature of Communist activities in India and Government's action against them. He said that the British Press knew of all that was happening in India. He wound up the conversation with the remark that he would ring up Mr. Attlee the next morning and tell him of my presence in London, and asked me to suggest to Sir Percy Sillitoe, Director-General of the UK Security Service, to tell his Prime Minister of my visit.

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Detective Service, for work outside India House. A retaining fee of £500 a year with a fee of £4 or 5 for each assignment in addition is what the High Commissioner intends to pay him. I shall discuss this with the Ministry of External Affairs. From what I saw and heard from responsible officers in India House, security measures should be initiated there with the least possible delay and enforced strongly. At the present time "security" is neither understood nor enforced.

T. G. Sanjevi
Director

4-1-49

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New Delhi
6 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of the 6th about Sanjevi's note. I was myself greatly distressed at the information given by Sanjevi in his note and I can well appreciate how you must have felt about this matter. It amazes me how and why Krishna Menon should have talked in this way. I can only explain and excuse it to some extent by imagining that he was under some deep mental strain and consequently completely upset. He is often rather ill and sometimes his nerves give way when he is unwell. In any event what he is reported to have said is totally inexcusable.

I have briefly written to him on the subject and asked him for his version. I did not think it necessary at this stage to send him a copy of Sanjevi's note.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

New Delhi
6 January 1949

My dear Rajaji,¹

I am sending herewith copy of Sanjevi's report on his interviews with Krishna Menon and of a letter in continuation, which he has written to Iengar. I am also sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have written to Jawaharlal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

Government House
New Delhi
11 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have seen your top secret and personal letter of 6 January and its enclosures and I hope to have a talk on the subject with Jawaharlalji when I next see him.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister

¹ C. Rajagopalachari: Joined Gandhi's satyagraha campaign and non-co-operation movement in 1920; General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1921-22; Premier of Madras after 1937 elections; resigned from Congress in view of differences over Muslim League's claim to Pakistan; assisted Gandhi in talks with Jinnah, 1944; Member, Interim Government, 1946-47; Governor of West Bengal, 1947-48; acting Governor-General, June 1948-January 1950; Minister of Home Affairs, 1950-51; Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959 to challenge "Leftist" policies of Congress

New Delhi
29 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have received from London about Edwina¹ and Pamela² Mountbatten's visit to India. You will notice that they are expected to reach here on 15 February at noon. I am writing to the Governor [Maharaj Singh] of Bombay and the Premier [B. G. Kher]³ about her visit.

On arrival they will go to Government House and stay there for three days. On the 18th the Governor-General leaves Delhi on a tour. The Mountbattens will thereupon come over to my house and stay there for the rest of their stay in Delhi.

We are making no programme for them yet as she [Lady Mountbatten] has not been too well. On her arrival we shall consider her programme. Naturally, she wants to visit a number of relief centres. I think that the only places she should visit, apart from Delhi and round about, are East Punjab, Kurukshetra, etc., and Bombay and Calcutta. It is no good making her tour all the time. As soon as she arrives we can fix up her programme in Delhi and East Punjab. Later she can visit Bombay and Calcutta.

There is one item in her programme, however, which we have already fixed up. This is a visit to Allahabad on 27-28 February on the occasion of the opening of a new wing of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital by the Governor-General.

She has expressed a strong desire to see the Ajanta and Ellora caves. Whether this will be possible or not, I do not quite know, but I hope it might be arranged. I myself would very much like to visit these caves again as I have not seen them for many, many years. I have written a letter to [P.C.] Chaudhuri⁴ on this subject, a copy of which I enclose.

¹ Wife of Lord Mountbatten

² Daughter of Lord Mountbatten

³ Secretary, Swaraj Party and of Bardoli Satyagraha Inquiry Committee; Leader, Bombay Legislature Congress party, 1937; first Premier of Bombay, 1946-52; High Commissioner in London, 1952-54

⁴ ICS; Director-General, All India Radio; Secretary, Information and Broadcasting Ministry; Secretary of States Reorganisation Commission

Edwina Mountbatten had made a promise to [H.K.] Mahtab¹ and to [Dr. K. N.] Katju² (he was Governor in Orissa then) to visit certain temples in Orissa. Mahtab has repeated that invitation by telegram to her and she would like to accept it if possible.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Flag Officer Commanding
First Cruiser Squadron
C/o G.P.O., London
12 February 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am sending this letter out by Edwina and Pammy who are coming out at the invitation of Rajaji and Jawaharlal on a month's visit to India. As I shall be away at sea all March carrying out the combined fleet manoeuvres with the Home Fleet, this was an admirable opportunity to let her go.

She is so anxious to renew all her old friendships, and is much looking forward to seeing you and Maniben.³ I envy her this opportunity very much, and have asked her to give you both my most affectionate regards and good wishes.

I have been watching your continued efforts to resolve the problems of the States and generally to produce stability and security within India, with great admiration. I think it truly wonderful that after your serious illness last year you should have been able to return to active politics with renewed vigour.

I will not burden you with a long letter because Edwina will be able to give you all our news. Much as I enjoy being back at sea my mind and heart continues to be with you all in

¹ Member of CA from Orissa, 1946-50; Chief Minister, Orissa, 1946-50; Central Government Minister, 1950-52; Governor of Bombay, 1955-56; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1957-60

² Minister in UP, 1937 and 1946; Governor of Orissa, 1947-48 and West Bengal, 1948-51; Minister of Home Affairs & Law, 1951-52 and Minister of Home Affairs, 1952-55 in Nehru Cabinet; Defence Minister, 1955-56; Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, 1957-62

³ Daughter of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who acted as his personal aide for over two decades

India. We have a number of RIN officers in the Fleet now, and it is a great pleasure to see them.

All best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Dickie Mountbatten¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister's Residence
New Delhi, India

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Government House
New Delhi
15 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Kindly see the enclosed extract from a letter which Lord Mountbatten has sent me through Lady Mountbatten. The latter tells me that the first named of the two bearers, Waheed Baig, has a house in the United Provinces and wishes to settle there after retirement, although his son is working in Pakistan. I hope the authorities in India will assist him to do so.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED 12 FEBRUARY 1949 FROM LORD MOUNTBATTEN TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Edwina and Pammy are bringing back to India with them our two faithful bearers, Waheed Baig who was with me and with our predecessors for very many years, and Abdul Hamid who was with Edwina and her predecessors. They have been the most delightful companions as well as the most perfect servants, and have greatly impressed everyone with whom they have come into contact in England.

¹ Last British Viceroy and Governor-General of India, March 1947-August 1947; carried out partition of India and transfer of power to Dominions of India and Pakistan in August 1947; first Governor-General of Independent India, 1947-48

I do hope that you will give your staff instructions to help them if they get into any difficulty with advice or permits and generally to keep a friendly eye on them if they require it. Edwina, I think, will be talking to you about this.

29

New Delhi
17 February 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your personal and confidential letter of 15 February 1959 regarding Waheed Baig and Abdul Hamid, the two bearers of the Mountbattens.

2. It is not clear in what way our assistance is required, nor where Waheed Baig proposes to settle down. If you can let me have some more details, I would be prepared to write to Pantji about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

30

New Delhi
1 February 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,¹

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Surjit Singh Majithia. Please let me know what you propose to do about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

¹ Akali leader; Development Minister, Punjab, 1942-46; joined Congress and served as Defence Minister, 1946-52

ENCLOSURE

Embassy of India
Nepal
15 January 1949

Respected Sardarji,

Last October I mentioned to you when I met you about the rank of Major-General for Sir Babar Shamsher, Commander-in-Chief of Nepal. He has been of immense help to me in bringing the two Governments together (India and Nepal). At that time you said that you will speak to Sardar Baldev Singhji. I also saw him and spoke to him about it and he promised to let me know. I have not heard from him as yet. Please let me know how the matter stands.

With respects to Sister Maniben, and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Surjit Singh Majithia
[Ambassador]

31

Nepal
11 April 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I write to inform you that the last batch of our contingent on loan to India returned to Kathmandu on 6 April, and it was with sincere pleasure that I welcomed them back home on the successful completion of their mission in India.

My son, Major-General Sarda Shamsher, GOC-in-Chief of the contingent, has described to me how cordially he and the troops under his command were received everywhere by all persons with whom they were brought into contact in the course of their duties. I should much like to extend to the Government of India cordial thanks on behalf of my Government and myself for the kindness and courtesy with which our troops were received.

I take this opportunity also to offer you my very cordial personal thanks for your interests in the welfare of our troops, and

I do hope that you will give your staff instructions to help them if they get into any difficulty with advice or permits and generally to keep a friendly eye on them if they require it. Edwina, I think, will be talking to you about this.

29

New Delhi
17 February 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your personal and confidential letter of 15 February 1959 regarding Waheed Baig and Abdul Hamid, the two bearers of the Mountbattens.

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The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

¹ Akali leader; Development Minister, Punjab, 1942-46; joined Congress and served as Defence Minister, 1946-52

General Sarda, who was such a picture of friendliness and goodwill.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt.-Gen. H.H. Ojaswi Rajanya
Maharaja Mohan Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana
Hony. Col. Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army
Prime Minister & Supreme C-in-C of Nepal
Singha Darbar
Kathmandu
Nepal

33

New Delhi
3 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Some Ministers, both of the Central Government and provincial governments, recently sent a message of goodwill to a meeting of the Nepal Democratic Congress at Calcutta. There was nothing wrong about these messages or about our sympathising with the democratic movement in Nepal. Nevertheless, it is not customary for Ministers of the Government officially to address in this way an organisation which is engaged in an agitation against the Government of a friendly country. Difficulties arise and the Government of the friendly country protests. It is therefore desirable, if I may say so, to refrain from sending such messages.

Apart from the consideration mentioned above, sometimes it is difficult to know what a particular organisation stands for and who its sponsors are. The professed objects may be very good and desirable but some of the sponsors may have other aims in view.

I therefore suggest that our Ministers here as well as in the provinces might exercise some caution in this respect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Indian Embassy
Kathmandu
Nepal
26 April 1949

Respected Sardarji,

I have not heard from you now for quite a while. I know you are very busy, but an encouraging word from one whom one respects makes it easier for one to carry on. This is not a complaint but the feeling of an humble Congressite expressed towards a venerable old man. I asked a long time ago an autographed photograph of yours. Can I be lucky this time?

The people over here after all have just started moving forward though the pace is very very slow. The greatest handicap is the advice of the British Ambassador. He is very anti-Indian and I have come to know that at the time Nepal lent us their troops last year he went to the extent of telling the Commander-in-Chief here that it is below [his] dignity and unwise to help India. And all this being said from a place which belongs to us. It is painful. It also pains when I see our prestige getting a setback by our not occupying our own house and staying in one which, compared to the one meant for India's representative, is definitely shabby. It is now getting on to two years since the question of our property cropped up. And today the practical position is the same as ever. I am given to understand that the British are only moving out of our house when they have built one for themselves. That is another two years' time at least. If this is agreed to then I am afraid our prestige over here will suffer heavily. With whatever implements, which were not many, you sent me here, I have tried my best to shoulder out the British. And then getting over the Americans and then the French over there is a way how the British want to lessen the importance of India in Nepal. Because they belong to one race more or less and it makes them three to me alone. But still by God's grace I will hold out. But I could have done very much better if I had the last hold of the British removed and that is his occupying India's house and India's representative occupying a borrowed one from Nepal. I cannot write any more on this.

It was only when I felt that either the India Government is not interested about keeping Nepal with it by weaning it away from the influence of the British or it does not realise the importance of this country to India that I asked for my release. I do not know whether I will have your blessings for this or otherwise and go back and do some other work where I can be made use of. For this my attitude is the same as of a soldier. I want orders from my beloved leaders. But that will be after a short respite of some months when I will attend to my family affairs. Of course, subject to my country's call. In this I do need your guidance and help by encouraging me. Affairs in the Punjab are not in a happy plight. I wish you devote your personal time to that, till it stands on its legs. To me it appears we have to root out communalism completely before we can be safe and happy. By this I mean both religious [bigotry] and provincialism.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Surjit Singh Majithia

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

35

New Delhi
9 May 1949

My dear Surjit Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 26 April 1949 which I received yesterday on my return from Indore.

2. I am sorry to hear that you are not quite happy about things there. I agree that we have to wean Nepal away from the Western influences which dominated it for so long.

3. We have run out of stock of the photographs which we have been sending to embassies etc. at their request. When I get a fresh supply I shall not hesitate to send one to you.

4. I am doing my best to put Punjab on its feet again but for that co-operation from the Punjabis is necessary. From recent events it is difficult to see when that province will attain any stability.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Surjit Singh Majithia
Ambassador for India in Nepal
Kathmandu
Nepal

12 Lytton Road
Dehra Dun
4 June 1949

My dear Friend,

I had heard that you are taking rest here at Circuit House for a month or two in order to recoup your health. I did not like to disturb you and so I had left my card only on 23 May last. I hope the same was [brought] to your notice. I was not well myself and was quite serious at Bombay in the months of January, February and March, but am feeling gradually better at present. I hope the rest has benefited you and you are gradually improving. How I wish I could meet you once during your stay here, for my old and decaying health will hardly enable me to leave this place to have the pleasure of personal contact with you in any other place. So I would request you to kindly inform me if I may visit Circuit House at any time convenient to you.

On my arrival here from Bombay I was informed that you had to make a forced landing at Jaipur, when I was at Bombay, but as I was serious at that time, I was not informed of the same. Recently I have seen in papers that an accident had luckily been avoided while you were passing in your car to New Delhi. Please accept my sincere congratulations. God save you to guide the destinies of India for years to come.

Yours sincerely,

Joodha

Maharaja & Retired Prime
Minister of Nepal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India

Dehra Dun
5 June 1949

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 4 June 1949.

I am sorry I was not free when Your Highness came here, but ever since I have been wanting to see Your Highness at your own house rather than to trouble you to come here all the way. I shall take an early opportunity of doing so. I would let Your Highness know on the telephone when it will be possible for me to come to meet you.

Many thanks for Your Highness' congratulations, but the fact is that the Press report regarding the incident of car accident is incorrect.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur,
Maharaja and retired Prime Minister of Nepal
12 Lytton Road
Dehra Dun

CHAPTER II
INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

38

New Delhi
28 April 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,¹

You have perhaps seen the India Information Services dated 22 April 1949 from Karachi. I give below an extract under the heading "Adverse Propaganda":

Khursheed publishes a long list of petty thefts, robberies, stabbing incidents, arrests of traders and satyagrahis, purported to have been carried from a Delhi newspaper, giving a headline analysis of the day's incidents in the city. From this list it would appear, says the paper, that thieves and goondas have the freedom to do whatever they please, while the Muslims are smarting under all sorts of restrictions. Indeed, the major part of India's population consists of thieves and hooligans, with their representatives occupying the ministerial gaddis.

The extract speaks for itself.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
Minister for Transport & Railways
Govt. of India
New Delhi

¹ PCS Madras; Prime Minister of Kashmir, 1937-43; Member, Constituent Assembly; Minister without Portfolio, Government of India, 1947-48; Leader of Indian Delegation to UN Security Council, 1948; Minister for Railways and Transport and Defence

TELEGRAM

28 September 1947

From Foreign, Karachi
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM PRIME MINISTER PAKISTAN TO PRIME MINISTER INDIA. YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN (US) AND PRIME MINISTER OF UNITED KINGDOM. I NOTE THAT YOU DO NOT AGREE WITH MY ACCOUNT OF HAPPENINGS IN PUNJAB AND ELSEWHERE. YOUR OWN ACCOUNT AS GIVEN IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE WHICH WAS HANDED TO ME IMMEDIATELY BEFORE CONFERENCE ON 19 SEPTEMBER IN DELHI IS REplete WITH UTTERLY UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS AND INSINUATIONS. I AM REPLYING TO THAT AIDE-MEMOIRE SEPARATELY AS I STATED AT THE TIME THAT I COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO DEAL WITH IT WITHOUT FURTHER EXAMINATION AND INVESTIGATION.

2. THE CONFERENCES WE HAVE HAD SO FAR HAVE SERVED A USEFUL BUT LIMITED PURPOSE. AS I STATED IN MY TELEGRAM OF 9 SEPTEMBER TO YOU THE HAPPENINGS IN EAST PUNJAB AND IN DELHI ARE THE RESULT OF A PREARRANGED PLAN BY THE SIKHS AND CERTAIN OTHER ELEMENTS TO WIPE OUT MUSLIMS SECTOR BY SECTOR. I TRIED TO DRAW THE ATTENTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THIS ASPECT OF THE MATTER MANY A TIME AND STATED IN MY TELEGRAM TO YOU OF 12 SEPTEMBER THAT WE MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH BASIC ISSUE WHICH IS DETERMINATION TO LIQUIDATE MUSLIMS IN EAST PUNJAB. I MUST SAY THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN PREPARED TO FACE THIS ISSUE WITH THE RESULT THAT CONFERENCES BETWEEN US SERVED ONLY TO MITIGATE ITS EVIL EFFECTS TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BUT DID NOT REMOVE ROOT CAUSE OF ALL THE TROUBLES. THE MAIN OUTCOME OF THESE CONFERENCES HAS BEEN TO FACILITATE A SOMEWHAT IRREGULAR FLOW OF REFUGEES AND IN SOME CASES TO GIVE PROTECTION AND CARE TO THOSE IN REFUGEE CAMPS.

3. IT WAS BECAUSE WE WANTED TO REMAIN IN CONTINUOUS TOUCH WITH YOU TO SECURE YOUR UTMOST CO-OPERATION THAT WE REPEATEDLY ASKED THAT JOINT CONFERENCE OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE HELD AT HIGHEST LEVEL TO DEVISE JOINT MEASURES. THE LAHORE CONFERENCES OF 29 AUGUST AND 3 SEPTEMBER THE LAHORE CONFERENCE

OF 14 SEPTEMBER AND THE DELHI CONFERENCE OF 19 SEPTEMBER WERE ALL HELD AT OUR REQUEST WHICH SHOWS THAT WE HAVE TRIED TO DO OUR VERY BEST IN WAY OF MUTUAL CONSULTATION.

4. AS I HAVE SAID ABOVE RESULTS OF ACHIEVEMENTS ALTHOUGH USEFUL WERE LIMITED AND IN OUR INTENSE ANXIETY TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER AND SAVE THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT LIVES AND MISERY TO MILLIONS WE FELT THAT WHAT HAD NOT BEEN ACHIEVED BY CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE OF ACHIEVEMENT IF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL DOMINION GOVERNMENTS AND UNITED KINGDOM MET IN CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE MATTER AND TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF SECURING PEACE. THIS METHOD WAS NOT TO SUPPLANT BUT TO SUPPLEMENT THE JOINT CONFERENCES BETWEEN US.

5. REGARDING YOUR COMPLAINT THAT I DID NOT MAKE A REFERENCE TO THIS MATTER IN OUR MEETING ON 19 AND 20 SEPTEMBER I SHOULD MENTION THAT WE HAD ALREADY ON 18 SEPTEMBER ASKED PRIME MINISTER OF UNITED KINGDOM TO BRING THE MATTER TO NOTICE OF ALL DOMINIONS INCLUDING OF COURSE INDIA DOMINION AND AS SUCH IT WAS LEFT TO UNITED KINGDOM PRIME MINISTER TO TRANSMIT CORRESPONDENCE TO YOU.

6. MY OBJECT IN SUGGESTING NEUTRAL OBSERVERS FROM OUTSIDE WAS PARTLY TO HAVE AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THESE DISTURBANCES SO THAT ACCUSATIONS OF ONESIDED VERSIONS ARE AVOIDED AND PARTLY TO APPLY PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON PEOPLE TO BE ON THEIR BEST BEHAVIOUR. WE REGRET THAT YOU DO NOT APPROVE PROPOSAL.

7. BOTH DOMINIONS HAVE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION. THE NEXT QUESTION IS WHAT THE PERSONNEL OF THE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION SHOULD BE. YOU HAVE RAISED OBJECTIONS TO FOREIGN AUTHORITIES. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE ARE OBVIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF SELECTING PERSONNEL FROM WITHIN THE TWO DOMINIONS. WE HAVE ALREADY MADE A CONCRETE PROPOSAL THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE DOMINIONS SHOULD MEET IMMEDIATELY AND THINK OUT WAYS AND MEANS OF BEST COURSE TO BE ADOPTED. THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF APPOINTMENT OF AN IMPARTIAL COMMISSION AND ITS PERSONNEL. I TRUST YOU WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO THIS PROPOSAL.

8. LET ME ASSURE YOU AGAIN THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN READY AND EVEN NOW ARE READY AND WILLING TO DO ALL WE CAN BY COMMON EFFORT AND JOINT CONSULTATION AND CO-OPERATION TO RESTORE PEACE AND MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER.

New Delhi
19 December 1948

My dear Sardarji,

Clause 1 of Section I of the recent agreement concluded with Pakistan reads as follows:

"1. The responsibility for protecting the lives and property of the minority communities and for ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside. The allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is therefore their right and duty to have their grievances redressed by the Government of their own State. Leaders in each Dominion should make public declarations to this effect at every suitable opportunity as part of the implementation of the provisions of the agreement."

I shall be grateful if in accordance with this agreement, you will be good enough to refer to the question of the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities in the sense mentioned above on suitable occasions in the course of your public speeches.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
25 November 1949

My dear Diwakar,¹

I am enclosing an extract of a report which we have received from the Deputy High Commissioner, Lahore. The dangers of this type of propaganda are obvious and I think we should do something to counteract it. This can be done, as far as I can see, in two ways. One is by giving it suitable publicity in India itself,

¹President of Karnatak PCC; pioneered movement for separate Karnatak State; Member, CA; Information & Broadcasting Minister, 1948-52; Governor of Bihar, 1952-57; President, Gandhi Peace Foundation and Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

so that they would know that tactics like this can be exposed, and the second is by doing counter-propaganda in the country in which repercussions of such propaganda might be felt. I should like you to consider this matter from both these aspects and issue necessary publicity directives. I should like to know the action that you have taken. It would, of course, be necessary to ensure that the secrecy of the source is, in no way, compromised.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri R. R. Diwakar
Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT OF A REPORT DATED 18-11-1949 FROM DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA IN PAKISTAN, LAHORE

Pakistan seems to be going all out to impress other Muslim countries both with her own progress and also with the wrongs she has suffered at the hands of India. Apart from the "Islamistan" tour of Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman,¹ efforts are being made to get important visitors to visit Pakistan where every effort is made to impress on them the importance of Pakistan to Islam and the injury to Islam caused or being caused by India. The latest of such visitors has been the Iranian divine and thinker, Alama Mohamad Taqi Falsafi. An instance of the effort to arouse anti-Indian feelings and create sympathy for Pakistan was the stage-managed visit of the Alama to the Women's Home in Lahore. It was arranged that the arrival of a truck load of recovered abducted Muslim women from East Punjab should synchronise with the visit of the Alama. Although the women had been recovered by India in implementation of her own policy and had been in an East Punjab camp for some time, the whole show was so staged as to create an impression of Pakistan having recovered these women at great risk and cost. Villagers had been hired to act as fathers and relatives of the recovered women and immediately on arrival of the women very touching scenes of reunion were staged before the Alama, which brought tears to his eyes. Similar scenes of deep emotional pathos were staged at the children's home and in the camp for Kashmiri refugees in West Punjab and Azad Kashmir, and the Alama is carrying back with him deep impressions of Pakistani Muslims having suffered

¹ Member, UP Legislative Assembly before partition; Member, Working Committee, All India Muslim League

subjects such as repression in the frontier States of Pakistan. Material obtained from the Bureau's service called "Cross currents in Pakistan politics" are provided to selected correspondents of newspapers like the Hindustan Times, News Chronicle, Tribune and Hindi and Urdu newspapers. Material favourable to India and critical of Pakistan whenever received from our embassies in the Middle East is also released unofficially to selected correspondents. An important story to expose the tactics employed by Gurmani in his hand-out issued at his Press conference in Cairo is being prepared and is likely to be issued shortly by the Bureau.

The Bureau has already taken action on the copy of the Deputy High Commissioner's report sent with your letter of 25 November received by them direct from the External Affairs Ministry and the story based on it was released to the Press yesterday in consultation with that Ministry. A copy of the story is enclosed for your information.

An outstanding success was a story exposing Pakistan's pamphlet called "Neutral Opinion" containing statements alleged to have been made by officers of the British Red Cross asserting atrocities by Gurkha troops and bombing of undefended civilians. By reference to the British Red Cross, it was established that no such statements were made by the officers named and this propaganda stunt of the Pakistan Government was exposed in a front page story in a number of newspapers in India.

Special material was also obtained from our delegation at Lake Success on our request to expose Pakistan at U.N. meetings. A recent example was the story showing the futile attempt Pakistan made to secure codification of the rights relating to international rivers. The full text of Mr. Larsen's recent letter to the New York Times on Kashmir, supporting India, was also similarly obtained and released to the Press. The cold reception to Khaliq-uz-Zaman's Islamistan mission was also exposed in the Indian Press.

Urdu publications on Kashmir are dealt with largely by supplying material to Urdu newspapers in Kashmir and to Radio Kashmir by our publications in the Urdu magazine called Kashmir which is produced under the control of the I. & B. Ministry though acknowledged to the National Conference for distribution in the State. Anti-Pakistan material is also received from the Jammu and Kashmir Government which is issued to selected correspondents in consultation with the Ministry of External Affairs. A recent example was the statement made by the Administrative

Officer [of] Gurez regarding the decision of the people of three villages in the Gurez sector to remain on the Indian side of the proposed demarcation line.

Material prepared by the Bureau is also made available to the External Publicity Division of the External Affairs Ministry for supply to our embassies and consulates abroad and to AIR for use in its external broadcasts.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. Diwakar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
1 December 1949

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of 30 November 1949. I am grateful for the pains which you have taken in dealing with my letter.

2. The general lines on which your Press Information Bureau is proceeding are quite sound. You have, however, to ensure that not only suitable publicity is given here but that the Press in foreign countries is also sufficiently informed of the tactics which the Pakistan Government is employing in vilifying India. This particular story, to which I have referred in my previous correspondence, would be quite effective and I suggest that the Press attachés abroad should be specially asked to see that this kind of propaganda is exposed. We should warn our Press attachés in Iran, where the Allama seems to have some following, that this sort of propaganda is likely to be started again when he returns and that as soon as the Allama returns they might try to contact him and tell him what exactly the facts were. Alternatively, they may put out the story about the time that the Allama is due to return, so that any unfavourable publicity that might be started by the Allama on his return could be forestalled.

3. I would also suggest that a collection of some glaring, barefaced and shameful pieces of propaganda by Pakistan, illustrative of the disgraceful methods they have been following, might be compiled and handed out to Press correspondents here and abroad. Isolated, these pieces of propaganda may not have the

same appeal or attraction, but a collection of these pieces will, in my opinion, have a telling effect and expose Pakistan's tactics. The title of the pamphlet or the hand-out may be something like 'How Pakistan Lies' or 'How Pakistan Vilifies.'

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri R. R. Diwakar
Minister of State for
Information and Broadcasting
New Delhi

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New Delhi
27 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Your letter of 1-12-49. So far as foreign countries are concerned, it is a matter for External Affairs to take up. I am conveying the suggestion to them through the PIO [Principal Information Officer].

Regarding the booklet, I am considering the matter and will let you know. There, too, I am consulting External Affairs.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. Diwakar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

45

New Delhi
12 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I spoke to you some time ago of a move which is being made by some East Bengal Hindus demanding the partition of East Pakistan. This is gathering momentum and it has also diverted the attention of a section of the refugees in West Bengal who were otherwise being exploited by interested persons and utilised for anti-Government purposes.

One of the leaflets issued by this association is enclosed for your information. I shall have a talk with you about this matter some time later.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

["Now or Never"—published by the Council for Protection of the Rights of Minorities, Calcutta, 1949]

46

Dehra Dun
6 July 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

You will be interested to read the attached copy of a secret report which we have received from the Central Intelligence Officer, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar
Minister for Transport
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A SECRET REPORT DATED 20-6-49, RECEIVED FROM THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, CALCUTTA

7. The Pakistan authorities and the Muslim leaders are tactfully creating such a situation gradually in East Pakistan as to compel the Hindus either to evacuate or embrace Islam.
8. Attempts are being made almost everywhere in East Pakistan to convert the Hindus by inducements and other means avoiding publicity except in cases of rich and high class Hindus just to show to the world that these are cases of voluntary conversions. In Rajshahi attempts are being made to stifle through conversion the sweepers who often threaten to go to the Indian Union to

¹ Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee; Finance Minister, Bengal, 1941-42; Member, CA; Minister in first Nehru Cabinet; President, Hindu Mahasabha; Founder-leader Jan Sangh

join the rest of their community and for this purpose a notorious Muslim goonda of the town has been appointed as Head Sardar.

9. In areas where the Hindus are in a very small minority their females are insulted and sometimes even molested by Muslim youths, without any redress even if it is reported to the authorities. In most cases, therefore, the relations of the girls do not even dare to protest and try to overlook such incidents, fearing more serious troubles.

10. Hindu educated girls of influential families are also often induced to marry Muslim youths and attempts are made to put aged Hindu girls of influential caste Hindus to trouble in various ways to compel them to yield to such inducements. The history of the arrest of Miss Monorama Ghosh, daughter of Ramesh Chandra Ghosh of Nawabganj, Rajshahi, as a Communist is that a Muslim officer of the local Civil Supplies, who is a very [close] neighbour of the girl, induced her continually to marry him. When she refused such a proposal she was declared as an Islam hater and was told that there was no place for any Muslim-hater in Pakistan. The girl still strongly protested when she was forcibly molested one day. She then sent a letter to Shri Probhash Chandra Lahiri, MLA, East Pakistan, giving all details of the case for moving the authorities for redress. Shri Probhash Lahiri brought this to the notice of the District Magistrate, Rajshahi, and two days afterwards she was arrested for being a member of the CPI. She has been kept separately in the Rajshahi Jail hospital, although not ill. She is always kept there strictly under the care of Muslim officers and is not allowed to interview her relatives.

11. In another case the daughter of a Hindu doctor, who is the brother of contractor Ratish Mazumdar of Rajshahi town and is an influential member of the minority community of Rajshahi town, was similarly harassed on the alleged ground that she was a strong supporter of Netaji Subhas Bose.

12. Another similar attempt was to put two college girls—daughters of one Habu Babu of Maharajpur, Rajshahi,—into trouble who immediately shifted his daughters to Calcutta, thus saving the daughters and himself from shame and social ruin.

13. A few days ago, a motor car of Dr. Ashutosh Chatterjee of Nawabganj, who is very friendly with the local authorities and an influential man, was requisitioned and seized without due notice and reasons. He approached the District Magistrate, Rajshahi, without any result and is now contemplating to evacuate.

14. The house of one Ram Pada Babu of Nawabganj was recently occupied forcibly by an Adjutant of the P.N.G., without any subsequent redress from the authorities.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY SARDAR PATEL
ON EAST BENGAL IN THE CONGRESS SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The problem of East Bengal is difficult. There are about 15 million Hindus there. They are weak and soft. The people of Punjab were different. They were strong, could assert themselves and could fight. The people of East Bengal are in a sad plight. Nobody wants to leave his own hearth and home without any reason. After all in India they just have to starve. It is because conditions in which they live there are bad that they migrate to India. This was one of the important questions that was recently discussed at the Inter-Dominion Conference and let us hope that a satisfactory agreement will be reached. The issue is undoubtedly serious and its seriousness has been made clear to Pakistan. The Hindus, who had left East Bengal and were now in India as refugees, must return there. India cannot undertake that burden and would be faced with serious problems if they were to remain here and others were to follow. The Pakistan Government must create conditions for the peaceful stay of these persons in their own homes. They must protect them from harassment or persecution. They must be assured that their lives would not be in danger in Pakistan. I suggested some time ago that if the Hindus in very large numbers were made to leave East Bengal on account of unsatisfactory conditions created there, the Pakistan Government should provide additional space for their settlement. This suggestion was made as one of the methods of solution of this difficult problem, by mutual discussions and agreement. It was not intended as a challenge or as an imposition by force. I have no aggressive intentions against Pakistan and believe that the two Dominions must settle this problem amicably by mutual discussions. I always desire peace. If I did not, I could not have spent a life time with Gandhiji. I do not hesitate in saying what I feel whether it displeases Hindus, Muslims or anybody else. I admit that I do so in blunt language, but to learn the proper language I shall have to spend my next birth also with Gandhiji. It is possible there may be other methods by which this problem could be solved, but if Pakistan has any alternative solution, she must put it down, so that we can discuss it amicably together. Whatever I am saying is not merely in the interests of the refugees but also for the good of Pakistan. It is for Pakistan now to take concrete steps to solve the problem; otherwise India cannot undertake the burden of these refugees and will be crushed under its weight.

Bombay
3 September 1949

My dear Mohanlal Saksena,¹

I have seen a copy of Shivdasani's² telegram to [C.N.] Chandra³ [See enclosure] dated 31 August regarding exchange of property between Muslims who have left for Pakistan and non-Muslims who are in Pakistan or have migrated to India. My own feeling is that the only way to settle this affair is by having resort to declaration of evacuee property in the maximum possible instances and facilitating such exchanges as can be negotiated. I realise that this might be somewhat unfair to the large number of refugees for whom such exchange facilities might not be possible, but as far as I can see, our position is that we should take from Pakistan whatever we can get and keep on striving for the rest. Otherwise, merely for this reason our property there would be grabbed without any returns to us while there would be mounting discontent here.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Saksena
Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

31 August 1949

From Hicomind, Karachi
To Foreign, New Delhi

FROM SHIVDASANI FOR CHANDRA.

AS RESULT OF TIGHTENING UP OF EVACUEE PROPERTY LAW IN INDIA NUMBER OF HINDU EVACUEES AND NON-EVACUEES RECEIVING GOOD OFFERS FROM MUSLIMS OF

¹ Secretary of Congress Party in Parliament, 1947-49; Union Minister for Rehabilitation, 1948-50

² ICS officer

³ ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Refugee Rehabilitation, Government of India, July 1948

OUTSIDE AGREED AREAS AND OF AGREED AREAS FOR EXCHANGE OF PROPERTY. MUSLIMS SUGGEST EXECUTION OF AGREEMENTS CLEARING OF INCOME-TAX AND EXECUTION OF IRREVOCABLE POWERS OF ATTORNEY FOR REGISTRATION BY BOTH PARTIES. THEY ABSOLVE HINDUS FROM OBTAINING SANCTION FROM PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT FOR WHICH THEY THEMSELVES ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY. HINDUS ANXIOUS TO KNOW IF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA WILL CONFIRM SUCH EXCHANGES AND WILL ALLOW REGISTRATION ON IRREVOCABLE POWERS OF ATTORNEY EXECUTED IN FAVOUR OF TRANSFERREES PROVIDED INCOME-TAX CLEARED. ENQUIRIES INCREASING DAILY. PLEASE ADVISE.

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New Delhi
10 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am very grateful to you for your letter dated 3 September 1949. I was out on tour and could not attend to it earlier.

I have consulted the representatives of displaced persons in Delhi regarding facilitating the exchanges of evacuee property; but they all seem to be opposed to such a proposal. They seem to think that such a policy will be in contravention of our original stand that exchanges should take place at governmental level. It has also been pointed out to us that such exchanges are likely to be few and far between. So far as I am concerned I would only like to allow exchanges in such a manner that the pool of evacuee property is not adversely affected. This would perhaps mean that we allow exchanges of non-Muslim property only with the property of intending Muslim evacuees from India.

As regards tightening our control, we have been able to secure property worth several crores in UP, Bombay and Delhi; but there has been a lot of agitation against the manner in which it has been taken. I have received a long letter from Jawaharlalji expressing his disapproval of the way in which the Custodians have been working. He proposes to bring the whole question before the Cabinet. His letter only reminds me of your warning that I would be able to enact the ordinance but not implement it.

I am very glad to read from newspapers that your health is rapidly improving. I was thinking of coming over to Bombay to talk the matter over with you; but in view of the stream of visitors which you have been having recently, I changed my mind.

I am writing back to Jawaharlalji giving my point of view. It will now be for the Cabinet to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Mohanlal Saksena

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

49

Bombay
13 September 1949

My dear Mohanlal Saksena,

Thank you for your letter dated 10 September 1949.

I quite realise your difficulties; in fact, I fully sympathise with them and I had already foretold that you would have to face them.

I feel that, in the circumstances in which you find yourself, facilitating exchanges of evacuee property is the only method by which you can reduce the adverse balance. Our original stand that exchanges should take place at government level has now to be given up because such exchanges are not possible on account of Pakistan's attitude. Merely to cling to that stand would not, therefore, be wise.

If you are thinking of coming over to Bombay, the mere number of visitors whom I receive should not deter you. A large majority of them are merely courtesy callers who enquire about my health.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Saksena
New Delhi

50

New Delhi
26 September 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

There is a meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet tomorrow at 11-30 a.m. I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to attend that meeting, partly because it would be very warm and partly because I would have to attend

another meeting of the Cabinet in the afternoon and it would not be desirable for me to undergo the strain of two meetings the same day. At the same time, I realise that the agenda is very important. I am, therefore, sending you a note incorporating my views on the two questions of evacuee property law and the accommodation of displaced persons in Delhi.

If you agree, you might apprise the committee of my views on these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

AMENDMENTS TO EVACUEE PROPERTY LAW

The main question under this head is that of definition of the term "evacuee." The committee consisting of Messrs. Chandra, Sundaram, Dharma Vira, Dantiyagi and Rajagopal has made its report. We have also had the benefit of H.P.M.'s comments on that report. I have also seen a minute recorded by H.P.M. in which he has referred to the effect of this property law on East and West Bengal and on Kashmir.

2. The present definition of the term "evacuee" is proposed to be retained by the committee in respect of the first two clauses. The third clause, namely, "who has after the first day of March 1947 acquired in any manner whatsoever any right to, interest in or benefit from any property which is treated as evacuee property under any law for the time being in force in Pakistan" is proposed to be deleted. I feel that, with such deletion, the definition would be wholly inadequate either for our purposes or for the purpose of an effective administration of evacuee property law. It would also be quite inconsistent with the actual position regarding evacuees or with the requirements of the situation created by actual or potential departure of persons from India. It is, in my opinion, indisputably necessary that we should bear in mind these additional factors, for there is no doubt whatsoever that an appreciable element of those Muslims who are resident in India is making arrangements for transferring its loyalty to Pakistan and is merely biding its time in order to gain the utmost possible advantage out of their property. I believe we have instances of substantial property holders who have professed a sense of grievance against us in regard to the administration of the property law and who have, in the next few days, actually left the country for Pakistan. The committee appears to have considered a widening of the

definition in its contracted form, which would result from retention of the present sections 2(c)(i) and 2(c)(ii) and deletion of 2(c)(iii). I regret, however, that instead of facing the issue squarely, they have contented themselves by posing certain questions without providing an answer. In H.P.M.'s comments, I feel that the case for extension of the contracted definition referred to above has been recognised by implication. H.P.M. has stated, in reply to the questions posed by the committee, that in certain contingencies further enquiries should be instituted. It would, however, be profitless to institute further enquiries, if there is no legal provision under which the resultant position flowing from the completion of such enquiries can be safeguarded or successfully implemented.

3. The question of administration of evacuee property involves many considerations, and it would be as wrong on our part to ignore the one as it would be to ignore the other. We have to take a decision, bearing in mind the cumulative effect of these relevant considerations. Some of the considerations which have struck me, I detail below, stating what, in my view, is the logical consequence flowing from each:

(a) We have to bear in mind the effect of the administration of the evacuee property law on our refugees. It was in July last that a conference regarding evacuee property was convened, at which representatives of displaced persons were present. The conference was in favour of suitable amendments of such law with a view to closing all avenues of fraud and with a view to including a large category of persons who were, what might be termed, constructive evacuees. That is, a substantial element of Muslims who, while not coming within the definition of the evacuee law which was at that time in force, deserve to be so included on the ground that in effect and in their intentions they were evacuees. The refugee opinion is, therefore, overwhelmingly in favour of the tightening up and widening of the definition of "evacuee" as stated in the existing ordinance.

(b) We have also to bear in mind the relationship between the administration of evacuee property and our rehabilitation programme. We can take it as axiomatic that the result of the present financial emergency would be a slowing down in our rehabilitation programme. We are already being accused of lukewarmness in the administration of the evacuee property law as compared with Pakistan. In Pakistan, apparently, they do much more than what the law permits and naturally we cannot do anything to remedy these transgressions. Here we are accused of doing much less than the law permits, and naturally the refugee opinion charges us with expressing misplaced sympathy with and consideration for persons who are constructively and potentially disloyal to India as against a lack of consideration and want of sympathy for the plight of refugees by failing to provide the only immediate means of rehabilitation or shelter in such property as might be available from out of

the pool of evacuee properties. If, as is inevitable, our rehabilitation programme slows down and this source of rehabilitation also shrinks, the cumulative effect would certainly be a bitter hostility against us amongst the refugees. Perforce, the programme of rehabilitation will take a longer time, and there would be growing discontent both at the pace of rehabilitation and its content.

(c) The attitude of Pakistan in regard to the administration of their own evacuee law is a very relevant factor. There is, as I have already stated, unmistakable proof of their being much ahead of us in the seizure of evacuee property and utilisation of the same for purposes of rehabilitation. In fact, the Pakistan Government have boasted of having no refugees in their camps. This has been made possible by a ruthless administration of the evacuee property law and its allotment to refugees. They have shown no qualms of conscience, and have, whether the law permitted it or not, seized property, torn away mutual agreements and have practically paid little heed to any remonstrance from us. The result has been a very considerable adverse balance against us in regard to the quantum as well as administration of evacuee property. I am informed that they contemplate even more drastic changes in their evacuee property legislation, the result of which would be far-reaching and disastrous. It is quite possible that they will shortly come out with these drastic evacuee property laws. This would create even further bitterness not only amongst the refugees but also amongst millions of sympathisers with them amongst non-refugees. We would be accused of not intending business, while Pakistan goes on grabbing evacuee or non-evacuee property at will. I do not think that any legislation which we may pass will have the least effect in preventing or deterring the Pakistan Government from proceeding with the execution of its nefarious designs. Whether it is in regard to the consequence of such legislation in West Bengal or if they have a design for extension of that to East Bengal, our attitude will make no difference to them. In my judgment, therefore, we should not hesitate to apply strictly our own evacuee law, except that we should make sure that no injustice is done to a genuine resident or citizen of India.

(d) As regards the effect of any administration of the evacuee property law of ours on Bengal, I have already mentioned above that nothing that we may do or not do will have the least effect on Pakistan's design to grab Hindu property in East Bengal, if they think that such a course would give them some advantage. The moment they decide that the time has come that this should be done, they will do so irrespective of what we say either in our communications to them or in the Press. Unfortunately, in all such matters, we have been content with leaving the initiative in the hands of Pakistan. They are utilising this position of advantage with determination, and this has naturally led to serious discontent not only amongst the refugees but

also amongst the non-refugees in India. How long can we afford to ignore this discontent?

(e) The question has been raised of the effect of the administration of the evacuee property law on Muslims in India in general and in Kashmir in particular. This is no doubt a relevant consideration, but I feel that we cannot attach, in the circumstances of partition and the undoubted presence amongst us of persons who have sympathies with Pakistan, any undue importance to it. So long as we can ensure fairplay and justice for genuine and loyal citizens of India, it would be possible for us to convince the Muslims that they have nothing to fear, and this we must ensure both in the legislative as well as in the executive spheres.

4. Summing up what I have said above, I feel that, in addition to the two categories of evacuees, for which specific recommendation has been made by the committee, we should have provision for the inclusion of other categories as well. We should include in the term "evacuee"

(i) those who, by systematic and continued remittances of cash or property to Pakistan or transfer of assets in any other way, raise a presumption that they are intending to establish themselves in Pakistan;

(ii) those who are keeping dependent members of their families in Pakistan. I would include this with a proviso that, if the persons concerned have sent families for a temporary period only to stay with their other relations or if the families rejoin the principals in India within a period of one month of such notice by the Custodian, the property should not be treated as "evacuee property" or should be released if it has been taken as such.

(iii) I would unhesitatingly include in the term those who have been trying to exchange their property in India with evacuee property in Pakistan. There can be no better definite proof of the impending transfer of loyalty, and such a person has no cause either in law or in equity. In such cases, I would make no distinction in the cases of small or large size of the property. Such a distinction cannot be justified, because the law must prevail equally in big or small cases. In fact, I would facilitate such exchanges of property and would recognise exchange agreements, etc. because this is the best means of securing some adjustment of the adverse balance in evacuee property which we have today.

(iv) I would apply the same criterion as in (iii) above to the acquisition of fresh interests except those which are acquired in the case of increasing trade between the two countries. We shall have to ensure, however, that this trade is genuinely in the interests of India and is not prompted by a desire to have the best of both the worlds.

(v) In regard to joint property, I would declare as "evacuee property" only the interests of those who have gone or who otherwise come

within the definition of the term "evacuee". The question whether the Custodian should take over such property and dispose it of in such a manner as may be permissible under the law would depend upon the nature and value of the property. If it is, for instance, a residential house, partition is out of the question, and we can claim the evacuee's share of the property in cash and not by partition. Where, however, there is a business concern of a reasonable size, the Custodian's nominee should have an interest in the management of the business.

(vi) I would endorse H.P.M.'s remarks on the question 3(f) of the committee's report. Such properties should be declared inalienable except with the sanction of the Custodian, and the interests of the persons who are evacuees under the definition of the term should be transferred to the Custodian without interfering with the management, unless the nature of the property is such that efficient and proper management cannot be secured otherwise than by the Custodian taking it in his possession.

(vii) Those who have opened fresh business in Pakistan should be treated exactly as those who are acquiring fresh interests in Pakistan.

(viii) The question of Trust property is, as H.P.M. had stated, a very complicated one. Charitable trusts and trusts for public purposes should function under new sets of trustees. If all or any of the trustees are evacuees within the definition of the term and if the beneficiaries have also gone to Pakistan, the Trust will have to be managed by the Custodian and the benefit will have to be treated as evacuee property and disposed of as such. If the trustees remain in India, but the beneficiaries leave for Pakistan, the benefit from the trust to the beneficiaries would have to be declared as "evacuee property."

5. In the light of what I have stated above, it seems to me necessary to cover under the definition "evacuee" categories other than those provided in the existing clauses (i) and (ii) or Section II(c). As to in what terms this definition should be framed is a question for the draftsman. If it is not possible to define the term precisely, I would leave the existing definition as it is, but regulate its administration by executive instructions. I should like to make it clear that I would not accept any provision which, in any way, inflicts hardship on a genuine and loyal citizen of India. At the same time, I would not spare anybody who, either by design or by actual deed, is trying to play fast and loose with his loyalty to this country. The acid test must be genuine loyalty to the country and actions in conformity with that loyalty. So long as we maintain this position, I do not think we have anything to fear from the reactions of the administration of the evacuee law on Indian Muslims.

ACCOMMODATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

My concern is merely to ensure that the policy which we follow does not create any serious law and order problem in the city. So long as we choose

men who have an honest means of subsistence in the city, I have no objection, but any other set of inhabitants would merely increase the criminal population of the city and would not only create a problem for ordinary law and order, but would also disturb inter-communal amity. In the Capital city, we cannot afford to be dealing with a law and order situation every day, or even less frequently. We have to maintain the peace of the city, and for that we shall have to be careful in allowing people to settle down. I would, therefore, restrict rehabilitation in Delhi to those persons who have an ostensibly honest means of subsistence or who can be provided with such subsistence. All others must be found a place outside Delhi, where by judicious distribution a check can be placed on their congregation. If, by this means, it is possible to restrict the number to 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, I should be very happy.

26 September 1949

V. J. Patel

51

"The Retreat"

Simla

21 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I came here on the 15th of this month to attend the three conferences, viz., (1) Boiler Inspectors' (2) Canal Dispute, and (3) Bhakra. Since my arrival I was down with influenza for three days. I am now better.

It appears from the latest telegram from the Pakistan Government that they want now to take the canal dispute to the UNO. We are, therefore, preparing our preliminaries with a view to meet their case. In yesterday's conference with the East Punjab Ministers and their engineers, we decided to appoint one first-class lawyer on a full-time basis for collecting necessary material for the purpose of preparing a complete brief. We have also appointed two engineers to aid our legal adviser in technical matters. By the end of this week all the conferences will be over and I propose to leave for Delhi on the 30th morning.

Yesterday, I heard from Shri N. C. Mehta that it has been published both in the Blitz as well as in the Eastern Economist that you contemplate retirement. This, I hope, is not true. You know what it will mean to us all and to the country at large. I can well imagine that on account of age and on account of a certain turn of events a feeling likely to encourage retirement may come over you. But I beseech you not to encourage it at least

for one year. I know how much physical strain it means to you; but in this I am prepared to work under you to any extent to relieve you of physical strain, but in no circumstances must you think of retirement till the Kashmir and Hyderabad problems are satisfactorily solved and a fair measure of stability is established.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Dehra Dun

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Dehra Dun
24 June 1949

My dear Kakasaheb,

Thank you for your letter of 21 June 1949.

We must prepare our canal dispute case and select a good representative of ours to fight out the issue before the UNO.

There is no truth whatsoever in the news that I am contemplating retirement. I am fully resolved to use the last ounce of my energy in the service of the country within whatever period Providence has vouchsafed to me. You need, therefore, have no anxiety on this score. I need hardly say how much I appreciate the kind sentiments you have expressed.

You are right in a way that I am considerably distressed over various things that are happening. I somehow feel that unless we have the requisite sense of urgency, drive, boldness and fearlessness, we shall not be able to serve the country during this period of crisis as well as the situation demands.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil
Minister for Works, Mines & Power
New Delhi

¹ MLA (Central), 1934; Party whip in Central Legislative Assembly till made Minister in Nehru Cabinet in August 1947; Governor of Punjab

Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay
11 August 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of 9 August.

I am glad to know that you have been able to maintain a firm attitude at the Inter-Dominion Conference. On this vital issue, there can be no room for concessions, and we must rigidly maintain our position.

I am taking as much rest as possible. Whatever work I do is as much necessary for my health as the rest prescribed by doctors.

Many thanks for the offer of help. I shall certainly avail myself of it when necessary.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. V. Gadgil
New Delhi

EXTRACTS

New Delhi
19 August 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am by nature over-cautious and would not like to err on the side of under-estimating the opposing strength. How a country the birth of which is based on hatred of Hindus and Sikhs, can ever develop friendly relations towards us in spite of the best efforts on our part, I fail to see. To me and in fact to every right-thinking man it is clear that in all the talks subsequent to partition, the attitude of Pakistan has been far from satisfactory to say

the least. They have been trying to get all kinds of advantages with the same technique with which they got Pakistan, i.e. bluff and threats. After partition one should have thought that they would settle down, but this has not been so. I hope and pray that I am wrong, but the more I think about this matter, the more convinced I feel that Pakistan's intentions towards us are not clean. They seem to be proceeding on the basis that they are going to fight us. They have worked up the religious feeling of their people against us and the public there is made to look upon us as 'Kafirs'. The ease with which they secured Pakistan and swallowed up non-Muslim property and wealth presumably encourages them to feel that they can add to their riches in case trouble starts. Even supposing, for argument's sake, that the Pakistan Government is not at the back of it all, the situation seems to me so eruptive that a conflict seems to be in the offing. I will not be surprised if we have to face a crisis in October or November.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

55

Bombay
22 August 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 19 August 1949.

I hope you did not read any complacency into my letter. As you know, I would be the last person to be complacent about Pakistan. My idea in writing to you was only to emphasise the need for careful and timely intelligence about Pakistan's military preparedness and for a carefully balanced viewpoint on such intelligence. I am all for being prepared against any threat of aggression from that quarter; in fact we cannot afford to relax.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

machines and materials for stockpiling against possible eventualities. When this is achieved, they may follow the course of devaluing their own rupee.

Apart from trade and commerce, from which point of view things are being viewed (at least publicly) at present, it appears to me to be necessary to watch their purchases in the countries that could supply these goods from this point of view.

If you feel, as I do, that this is a possibility, our representatives and trade commissioners in countries like the USA, the UK, France, Czechoslovakia, etc., need to have instructions to watch Pakistan's orders, if any, placed in this respect during the coming months. If such a thing eventuates, we cannot help it, but we might—even at higher costs—have to build up our resources, so as not to be caught at a disadvantage.

With best wishes for your full health,

Yours sincerely,
R. M. Deshmukh¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

58

New Delhi
6 October 1949

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of 30 September 1949 and for your congratulations and best wishes.

2. The many problems which you have referred to are engaging our attention and you must have gathered from Dr. [John] Matthai's² speech yesterday some of the conclusions which have been reached.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri R. M. Deshmukh
Amraoti

¹ Finance Minister, Gwahar, 1941-44; Member, National Defence Council, 1940-44; High Commissioner for India in South Africa, 1945-47; Prime Minister and Adviser to Raj Pramukh of Vindhya Pradesh, Rewa, 1947-48

² Minister in Nehru Cabinet, 1947-50; Chairman, Board of Directors, State Bank of India

High Commissioner for India
Damaodar Mahal
Karachi
2 October 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Writing this as I am, on Gandhi Jayanti Day, let me, at the outset, send you my greetings. We are celebrating the event in the afternoon in a solemn but simple manner.

From the reports current here, both in official as well as non-official circles, I gather that behind the somewhat peremptory and flashy announcements of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and others, there is a serious move for reconsidering the question of devaluation of the Pak rupee. How long this may take cannot be said, however. The bold stand which under your leadership India has so far taken together with the reactions in America and England seem to be acting as eye-openers. Already there is a fear that the anticipated balance of trade in favour of Pakistan against India may only prove a will o' the wisp. Officially, 100 rupees of Pakistan are said to be equal to 144 rupees of India: but an impatient Hindu businessman of Bombay is said to have made a deal worth about a lakh of rupees in the course of which he paid 120 Indian rupees for 100 Pakistan rupees.

There is a fresh exodus of Hindus from Sind. Near about 3,000 have already gone and more and more are coming from the interior of Sind. I met some of these personally and tried to dissuade them, in vain, from migrating. Day before yesterday Kasim Rizvi¹ Day was celebrated in Karachi. They want to whip up sentiment against India as the only cementing force in the otherwise scramble for power among various groups and parties. This Rizvi Day was preceded a few days ago by the celebration of Hyderabad Day and that again was preceded by Indian goods boycott day. Of course, Kashmir is the burning topic of every day. On Kasim Rizvi Day, the chairman of the

¹ Founder of Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen who organized Razakar movement as a militant anti-Hindu force

meeting, Qureshi, who was not long ago either a motor-driver or a motor-cleaner but who is now a rich man, is reported to have said that "Kashmir we will have because nature has meant it for us; Junagadh we must get because legally we are entitled to it and Hyderabad must be free because that is the wish of the people and the demand of its past history."

In common with the millions of Indians and others I have sent our thanksgiving to God for restoring you to full health. May God bless you with a long active life as our guiding leader!

With compliments and regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sita Ram

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

In an interview with a correspondent of the Sind Observer, Mr. Qureshi, Deputy Minister, Home, has flatly denied the Hindu exodus, though it is taking place beneath their noses and although I brought this to the notice of the Pakistan Prime Minister the other day. None so blind as the one who refuses to see!

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New Delhi
10 October 1949

My dear Dr. Sita Ram,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 October 1949 and for the useful information which you have given therein.

2. I am now much better and am bearing the strain as well as I can. There are so many serious problems with which we have to deal rather urgently. Pakistan's actions to which you refer are some of them.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Dr. Sita Ram
High Commissioner for India in Pakistan
Karachi

CHAPTER III
ECONOMIC AID

61

Embassy of India
Washington D.C.
11 May 1949

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I arrived in Washington on the 9th after spending three days in London and four in New York. I received a very warm welcome from the State Department, the diplomatic corps and the Indians here.

I present my credentials tomorrow. The Secretary of State is leaving for the Foreign Ministers' conference in Paris in a few days. I had a brief interview with him yesterday but the talk was superficial.

There is a great deal of interest about India and we should make the most of this opportunity for ourselves. Although our association with the Commonwealth has been welcomed by leading newspapers and by official circles here, there is a good deal of misunderstanding in the public mind and this is likely to be the subject of many questions at my first Press conference.

I shall write to you in detail about my reaction to things when I have had a little more time to get adjusted. I trust your health remains good in spite of the heat.

With namaskars,

Yours affectionately,
Sarup
[Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit]¹

¹Sister of Jawaharlal Nehru; Minister for Local Self-Government and Public Health, UP 1937; led Indian delegation to UN in 1946, 1947 and 1963; Ambassador to Russia, 1947-49, and to US, 1949-52; President of UN General Assembly, 1953-54; High Commissioner in Britain and Ambassador to Spain and Ireland, 1954-61; Governor of Maharashtra, 1962-64; MP, 1964 and 1967

Dehra Dun
28 May 1949

My dear Vijayalakshmi,

Thank you for your letter of 11 May 1949.

I am glad to hear from you so soon after your taking over charge there and am awaiting your detailed reactions.

I have come away to Dehra Dun for a month or so to avoid the heat of Delhi. Here, although it is somewhat warm during the day, the nights are comparatively cool. I may take one or two trips to Mussoorie in case the height suits me.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Her Excellency Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit
Ambassador for India in America
Washington D.C.

New Delhi
15 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from the Governor-General. I am inclined to think that Rajaji's suggestion that he should have an At Home to which he would invite the diplomatic corps, would be best. He should also attend the dinner at the UK High Commissioner's house the same evening.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Governor-General's Camp
India
(Madras)
15 May 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Sir Archibald Nye [UK High Commissioner] asked me the other day whether I could attend and figure in a dinner he would organise in celebration of the King's birthday on 10 June at his place. This made me think whether it would be proper for me holding the office of Governor-General (1) not to do anything myself for the King's birthday and (2) to go to be chief guest in the UK High Commissioner's dinner party on that day. I enquired and learnt that on 10 June last year the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, gave a large dinner with over a hundred guests and this was followed by a dance recital which cost the External Affairs Ministry Rs. 2,150/- and nothing was done in the UK High Commissioner's place by way of celebration of the King's birthday. The question now is (1) whether Government House should entirely ignore the King's birthday and (2) whether I should go to Nye's place in celebration of the King's birthday. Think it over and advise me.

Perhaps the best solution would be a small At Home inviting the diplomatic corps to Government House, and myself going to Nye's place for a dinner that night.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

Dehra Dun
18 May 1949

I agree with the suggestion to have an At Home at Government House and for His Excellency to attend the dinner at the UK High Commissioner's house.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
18 May 1949

My dear Matthai,

I am sending herewith a copy of a message which we have seen and which Douglas Brown, the correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, has sent to London. The arrangement of seeing these despatches is highly secret and I would be glad if you would kindly keep this copy to yourself. I would be grateful for your reactions to this despatch.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

15 May 1949

From Douglas Brown, New Delhi
To Daily Telegraph, London

Representatives of World Bank who recently visited India in response to a request for a dollar loan to finance industrial projects are believed to have expressed certain misgivings about the general financial position of the country. The leading South Indian newspaper Hindu of Madras says that they accused Governments, both Central and provincial, of pursuing financial policies based more on political and ideological than on economic considerations. Examples given are:

(1) Abolition of salt duty at a cost of 100 million rupees thus substantially reducing the cost of salt to consumers. This convenient form of

indirect taxation was formerly seized upon by the Congress as a symbol of alien oppression and Gandhi used to court arrest by ostentatiously evading it. Pakistan was more realistic and reimposed the tax a year ago.

(2) Prohibition by which various provincial Governments have lost a revenue of 180 million rupees and are prepared to lose as much again when the programmes are complete.

(3) Overhasty abolition of landowning systems.

(4) Refusal to impose a surcharge on land revenue although agricultural prices have risen 300 per cent since before the war.

World Bank representatives are also believed to have commented on 'alarming' depletion of India's cash balance which stood at 3,000 million rupees soon after partition and is estimated to fall to 700 million at the end of the current year. This is apart from the rapid consumption of sterling balances.

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New Delhi
21 May 1949

My dear Sardar,

I am in receipt of your secret letter regarding the reported views of the World Bank Mission on our financial policy. I have not yet seen the official report of the Mission, but I enclose a statement made by the President of the Bank to his Directors regarding his general reactions to our application. I consider this a reasonable appreciation of our financial situation, and I do not think we can take any objection to it. It is, of course, possible that in the detailed report presented by the Mission, various aspects of our financial and economic policy have received critical attention at the hands of the Bank. I hope to receive the final report very shortly, and shall let you know in due course my reactions to it.

I hope that you are keeping well, and that the change is doing you good.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun (UP)

ENCLOSURE

STATEMENT BY MR. JOHN J. MCLOY, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD BANK

1. During the meeting of the Governors of the Bank in September 1948, certain proposals were conveyed to the Bank, confidentially, as the possible basis of a loan to India. Although these proposals were not precisely defined, *they related to India's programme for the rehabilitation of the railways and the development of agriculture, shipping, radio and civil aviation.*
2. The Indian representatives were informed that if the Government of India should wish it, the Bank would send a mission to India to obtain a first-hand impression of the economic and financial situation and to make an initial survey of such development projects as the Government might put forward for consideration.
3. A formal invitation to send such a mission to India was received in due course and the Bank Mission was in India from 22 January, 1949, until the middle of March. In addition to the members of the Bank's staff, the mission included a specially-engaged railway consultant.
4. The members of the mission travelled widely in India, visiting important industrial and agricultural areas and the sites of the projects submitted for the Bank's financing, and meeting a representative cross-section of men engaged in productive, commercial and professional activity. They also had exhaustive and constructive discussions with responsible officials of the Government of India.
5. Reports compiled by the Mission and the judgments it formed have been submitted to the Staff Loan Committee, which has thoroughly discussed India's creditworthiness and the merits of the specific projects submitted for consideration.
6. The reports of the Mission will be circulated to the Board within the next few days, but in the meanwhile I take this opportunity to make the following brief comments on the political and economic situation in the country.

POLITICAL SITUATION

7. The Government is formed from the Congress Party, which commands the loyalty of the vast majority of the Indian population. The influence of the late Mahatma Gandhi and the ideological force of the movement he built up, remain powerful factors in shaping the newly reborn Indian State. Gandhi's close associates, Rajagopalachari, Nehru and Patel, are at the head of the Central Government as Governor-General, Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister; all are men of force and ability, who wield great influence.

8. The Government was inexperienced in administration when it took office in 1947. It is not to be wondered at that, during the past two years, there has been a great deal of stress and strain within the Government and among its supporters in the process of adapting the idealistic programmes of the period of struggle for independence to the practical necessities of Government. Moreover, there has been disappointment among the many people who expected that the independence of their country would bring a quick and spectacular rise in prosperity. Nevertheless the prestige of the Congress Party is high and there is no alternative Government in sight. In view of the immense problems with which they have been confronted—the fact of partition itself, the communal massacres, the migration of millions of refugees, the Kashmir trouble and three bad monsoons in succession—it is remarkable that they have held the position as stable as they have and have made real progress in knitting the country together.

9. As far as one can assess the outlook it would seem that if the Government can, within the next five to seven years, demonstrate its ability to carry through the development of the country so as to improve the economic situation in general and living conditions in particular, the chances of an orderly development of India on democratic lines are good. It follows that any financial support the Government may receive from abroad will be a matter of considerable importance.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

10. The food situation dominates any approach to the Indian problem. As a result of the natural rate of population increase, the loss of surplus areas to Pakistan and a series of bad monsoons, food imports have been very heavy in the post-war period and have been one of the main reasons for the considerable deficits of balance of payments.

11. To alleviate the burden resulting from the heavy imports of grain, the Government has undertaken a number of measures to increase domestic food production. On the one hand, it is propagating improved methods of cultivation to increase yields, which are now among the lowest in the world; on the other, it is proposing to undertake land reclamation on a large scale. It is unlikely, however, that these measures will completely eliminate the necessity of importing grain, at least in the course of the next few years.

12. As a result of the war, there is a considerable backlog in the replacement of machinery and equipment for Indian industry, which is one of the most developed in the Far East.

13. Particularly affected in this respect are the Indian railways, which rendered appreciable service to the Allied armies during the war. At present, the shortage of rolling stock and particularly of locomotives is causing a serious slowdown of economic activity.

14. Before the war, India's current balance of payments was normally favourable. Since the end of the war, however, India has had considerable deficits, by far the largest being with the hard currency area. They resulted largely from the heavy imports of grain, machinery and equipment for Indian industry and of other items which could not be obtained from the pre-war sources in Europe. Also Indian exports, the most important of which is jute, had not reached its pre-war volume.
15. To finance the dollar deficit, India has used her allocations from the central reserves of the sterling areas and has purchased nearly \$100 million from the IMF. The sterling deficit has been financed out of the sterling balances accumulated during the war.
16. While the present Indian situation on current account is not an easy one, it should be borne in mind that India has repaid during the war almost all of her foreign debts and has become a creditor vis-a-vis the UK.
17. To reduce her hard currency deficit, India has recently tightened exchange controls and diverted imports from hard to soft currency areas. This policy has become practicable because of the increased availability of European supplies.
18. The Government has introduced a number of measures to check inflation. The rise in prices has been arrested and the proportion of industrial disputes in which wages were the principal issue has decreased.
19. Considerable budgetary deficits, caused to a large degree by the Partition and the military actions in Hyderabad and Kashmir, have been largely financed by means which had no direct inflationary effect. However, since most of the development plans now under discussion are to be financed out of either Central or Provincial Government funds, it is most important for the Government to keep a firm hold on the sound evolution of its finances.
20. Various political and social changes which have taken place since independence have had an unfavourable effect on the capital market. The Government, aware of the situation, has recently taken measures to restore the confidence of investors. The shortage of foreign and local capital and the magnitude of development needs, make it imperative for the Government to co-ordinate all development plans and allocate material and financial resources according to priorities from the point of view of the over-all national interest. For this purpose it has recently set up an interdepartmental agency with wide powers.
21. The Government realizes also that there is a shortage of technical and managerial skill and that in this respect an important addition to the local training programmes could be provided by assistance from private investors. I have taken particular note of the Prime Minister's recent statement to the Indian Parliament regarding this Government's readiness to welcome private foreign investment under conditions which will give the investors confidence and encourage them to bring in technical know-how and skills.

CONCLUSION

22. My over-all view of the Indian situation, in the light of the Mission's reports, is that it is one which merits and justifies consideration for a Bank loan.

PROJECTS

23. The Government of India submitted to the Mission a list of projects totalling \$ 506 million, to indicate the range within which it wished investigations to be made so that subsequent talks with the Government could lead to the selection of particular projects which the Bank would be prepared to finance.

24. Out of this list, certain items are not suited for Bank financing, viz.;

(a) Purchase of fertilizers

The importation of a consumable product which is a recurrent need should normally be financed out of India's own resources.

(b) Fisheries

This is really a project to explore and catalogue the deep-sea fishing grounds off the Indian coasts. It will be best for the Bank to await the results of this investigatory work and the possible eventual submission of a proposal which would make a substantial food contribution.

(c) Mihijam Locomotive Works

This project cannot be completed at this stage except at the expense of current railway recovery. It would cut into limited material and financial resources and divert skilled personnel from workshops and running sheds.

(d) Purchase of ships

This proposal is designed to procure ships for routes where there is already a surplus of available tonnage.

25. Based on preliminary appraisals, it would appear that the other projects submitted to the Mission are likely to provide a sounder basis for Bank lending. If assistance can be given to increase food production, it will be directed to India's basic problem. Railway rehabilitation is of almost equally crucial importance and the production of electric power is high on the list of India's requirements.

26. With regard to these projects, my attitude is as follows:

(i) Tube-wells

No precise cost estimates of this project have yet been prepared. Until they are available, and until adequate tests have determined the practicable discharge volume of water from the wells, the soundness of the proposal cannot be tested. The Bank cannot,

therefore, judge at this stage whether or not the basis for a Bank loan may exist.

(ii) Damodar Valley

I consider the Bank should be willing to proceed immediately with a detailed technical examination of the whole Damodar valley project in order to determine the possible basis for a loan from the Bank.

(iii) Bhakra-Nangal

I also consider that the Bank should be willing to proceed immediately with a detailed technical examination of the whole Bhakra-Nangal Project in order to determine whether certain portions of it may provide the basis for a Bank loan.

(iv) Reclamation of weed-infested land

Subject to further investigation of the proposed method of eradicating the weeds. I consider that the Bank should open negotiations for a loan to finance the hard currency cost of this project. The cost of imported fuel and lubricants which will be a recurring operative charge on the projects, should, in my opinion, be covered out of India's own resources.

(v) Reclamation of jungle land

Further experiment is required to demonstrate whether or not this project is practicable and economic. I would suggest, however, that the Bank consider the allocation, for experimental work, of one or two units of fifteen heavy tractors each out of the tractors to be used for reclamation of the weed-infested areas. Further consideration to this project can be given later when the results of the proposed experimental operation are available.

(vi) Purchase of locomotives and other railway equipment

I consider that the Bank should open negotiations for a loan to finance the hard currency cost of this project

27. If we can reach agreement with the Government of India for a loan on the bases I have indicated above, the amount will probably come out at a figure somewhat over \$ 100 million. This would seem to me to be an appropriate sum for an initial approach to this important country.

28. I therefore propose to invite the Government of India to send representatives here to commence early negotiations on the lines I have indicated.

9 May 1949

New Delhi
21 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In yesterday's Cabinet meeting it was suggested that one person should be selected by the States Ministry to be a member of the delegation for the next session of the UNO. I think this time it would be good if some prince from the Deccan is recommended by the States Ministry. If this meets with your approval, I should suggest the name of the Raja Sahib of Sangli, who has been very helpful and who has been progressive throughout.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
21 July 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of 21 July 1949.

The Prime Minister's objection is not against Jamsaheb only but to any prince being selected at all. However, I shall include the name you have suggested.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil
New Delhi



SARDAR PATEL ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI ON 28 APRIL 1949, EXPLAINING INDIA'S FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE COMMONWEALTH FOLLOWING THE PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN LONDON



SARDAR PATEL WITH ANTHONY EDEN, DEPUTY LEADER, BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, WHEN

THE LATTER CALLED ON HIM IN NEW DELHI IN MARCH 1949

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TELEGRAM

Camp Birla House
Mount Pleasant Road
Bombay
7 August 1949

Dr. Hatta¹
Care Prime Minister
New Delhi

HEARTIEST WELCOME TO INDIA. MUCH REGRET ILLHEALTH PREVENTS ME FROM MEETING YOU PERSONALLY. HOPE YOU WILL ENJOY YOUR SHORT STAY. WITH BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS IN YOUR MISSION OF EMANCIPATION AND GOODWILL.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
9 August 1949

Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel
Birla House
Mount Pleasant Road
Bombay

MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR KIND MESSAGE. MAY GOD GRANT YOU SPEEDY RECOVERY. SINCERELY HOPE TO MEET YOU FUTURE.

MOHAMMED HATTA

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New Delhi
6 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The enclosed copy of a letter from Vijayalakshmi may interest you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ Dr. Mohammed Hatta: Prime Minister of Indonesia

ENCLOSURE

Washington
18 August 1949

Thank you for your wonderful birthday message. It has been quite a day for me. Last night I was on the air on a nationwide hook-up in which I was interviewed by three of the best-known commentators in the States. It was quite extempore and I think they expected me to hesitate or stumble over replies as they were fired at me in typical American fashion. However, I held my ground very well and the interviewers got the worst of the bargain. As the broadcast had been heard all over America and Canada I received scores of telephone messages from all parts of the country for my "brilliance"!

This morning I signed the loan agreement at a simple ceremony. Many photographers and moviemen were present. After the signatures the President made a brief speech, to which I replied in a few sentences. Later we drank sherry. In the afternoon I gave a cocktail party to members of the [World] Bank according to custom.

My birthday, for some strange reason, has evoked interest and I received nearly a hundred boxes of flowers and many telegrams of good wishes from such quarters as Foreign Policy Associations, directors of banks, women's clubs, etc. It has been quite spontaneous and overwhelming. My own American staff, who consider me the most wonderful person, literally smothered me with affection and gifts. This has been a new experience for me. There were, however, two unhappy incidents. First, an Indian student who has been hysterical and rather unwell for some time and who is due to sail for home in two days, arrived at the Embassy and demanded to see me. As I was entertaining, he was asked to wait. He was mentally ill and soon began to rave. He was determined he was to die and must see me. He had all sorts of complexes about me—sometimes he would refer to me as his mother, then his protector, his sweetheart, etc. After a time he began to get violent and I was summoned. At once he calmed down, but when I left him the same thing began all over again. We had to summon a doctor and a psychiatrist. They think it is only acute hysteria but will see him tomorrow. Meanwhile, he is here with two people on guard. The second incident relates to my cook, who chopped his finger clean off. Fortunately, the doctor was in the house and there was an operation. Later I had to go to a reception at the Burmese Embassy in honour of the Foreign Minister, who is here on a visit.

15 August passed smoothly. We had a flag hoisting ceremony in the morning to which our students and nationals came. In the evening I had a reception from 9 to 12 for the diplomatic corps and important Washingtonians. I would have had a simple tea, but as I had not given the usual party after presenting my credentials I had to incur this extra expense and trouble. Actually, it was well worthwhile. The whole of Washington is talking about it and many papers have referred to "the woman who can hold Washington society without the aid of alcohol".

The party went with a bang from the start in spite of the fact that both Korea and Pakistan had had receptions earlier in the day. Everybody came and stayed. We had very simple food and no alcohol but I had taken special pains to do the floral decorations, etc., and the whole effect was restrained and lovely. I have certainly established my success as a hostess. Everybody had prophesied that Moscow and Washington were two different places and could not be dealt with in the same way. My party held the guests and was gay and bright to the end. There was some comment in the Press on the fact that Pakistan served champagne and had a very lavish supper.

The State Department has announced its intention of supporting us in the Security Council "as a Commonwealth country". They do not wish to acknowledge our leadership or even our representation of SE Asia. I do not know what the British plan, but you have no doubt contacted them.

Some months ago the Watumull Foundation had asked me to use my influence to persuade Mrs. [Eleanor] Roosevelt to go on a lecture tour of India on their behalf. I had declined. Later I met Mrs. Roosevelt and she mentioned her desire to go if Government had no objection. I told her our Government would welcome her and in fact she should go as their guest. This pleased her and she said she would let me know if she could leave this country early next year. I think she would greatly appreciate an invitation from you. Perhaps you can do this when you meet her here.

The photograph in the Buddhist robe you sent me is very beautiful.

PS.

The Indian student has, since I wrote, been very ill and is in a mental hospital for the present. Ashfaq Hussain¹ is with him every day for some time.

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Bombay
8 September 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 6 September 1949 and the copy of a letter from Sarup [Mrs. Pandit].

¹ Information Officer, Government of India; Deputy Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education

I am very glad to know that she has settled down so well and has created such a good impression.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Karachi
15 August 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Bombay

RESPECTFUL GREETINGS FROM OFFICERS AND STAFF THIS MISSION AND MYSELF ON THIS HISTORIC DAY. PRAY SPEEDY RECOVERY.

SITARAM

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TELEGRAM

BOMBAY
16 August 1949

His Excellency Dr. Sitaram
Indian Embassy
Karachi
(Pakistan)

MOST GRATEFUL YOUR MESSAGE. SORRY HEAR OF YESTERDAY'S INCIDENT.¹ PLEASE ACCEPT MY VERY BEST WISHES FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR STAFF.

VALLABHBHAI

¹The staff of the Indian High Commissioner's office had arranged for a special luncheon to celebrate the Indian Independence Day. The chief guest was to be the Indian High Commissioner himself and the Indian Union Flag was hoisted over the building which was exclusively occupied by the Indian staff. A crowd, mostly made up of refugees collected and demanded that the Pakistan Flag should be hoisted as well. This was done at the instance of the Police. The crowd which gradually swelled to over 2,000 demanded the total removal of the Indian Flag and described it as a "Congress Flag". The Police found difficulty in controlling the crowd who

India House
Aldwych
London W.C. 2
1 November 1949

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

I would like to send you my respectful good wishes and greetings on the seventy-fourth anniversary of your birthday. We are all relieved that your health is somewhat better and that with some care the nation is able to have the benefit of your entire guidance and counsel. It is unfortunate but an inescapable part of the magnitude of our problems that the overwhelming responsibilities must combine to rest on the Prime Minister and yourself with all the heaviness of the burdens on your persons. I had hoped to meet you last September but lot of work here and the needs of economy have prevented it. I do not write to you often *because I know that you are kept well informed and that you do not like your time wasted!* Panditji returns here next week and will be back in India on the 14th.

With affectionate regards,

Yours sincerely,
Krishna [Menon]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

stoned the building, breaking many windows attempted to enter the house by force and injured some of the inmates of the house. The Police made a lathi charge and later resorted to firing and tear gas. As a result one refugee, who was forcing entry into the house was killed and five others seriously injured. The Police also suffered some casualties. There were a number of women in the house when the disturbance occurred. As the situation was getting out of control of the Administrator, the Minister of the Interior, Khwaja Shahabuddin, arrived on the spot. The Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, also arrived at the scene later at the request of the Indian High Commissioner. He stayed on the scene for nearly two hours.

New Delhi
13 November 1949

My dear Menon,

Thank you for your letter of 1 November 1949, which I got this morning.

Many thanks indeed for your good wishes and greetings on my birthday and for the kind sentiments which you have expressed. Nothing would please Jawaharlal and myself more than serving the country to the last breath of our lives. We know the burden is heavy. For me, both old age and health have made a material difference to my outside contacts, but otherwise I am carrying on as before and hope to continue to do so as long as a kind Providence would permit me.

I should personally like to hear from you off and on just to know how things are going along. I have not heard from you for ages.

The Prime Minister will be coming here day after tomorrow and I hope to hear from him everything about the tour.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Mr. V. Krishna Menon
India House
Aldwych
London, W.C. 2

New Delhi
6 December 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have seen your Press statements as well as the telegrams exchanged on the question of recognition of China. It seems your intention is to recognise China soon after the UNO session ends, even if it means that others are not ready by then or are prepared to do so. My own feeling is that we do not stand to gain anything substantial by giving a lead in the matter and that, while

recognition must come sooner or later, if we are somewhat late in the company of others, it would be worthwhile delaying a bit. After all, whether as Members of the Commonwealth or as Members of the UNO, if we can act in mutual concert, it is better to do so than to act alone or even with one or two other powers.

I have seen the Canadian reply to your message. They would also like to wait until the Colombo consultations are over. I feel myself that, if we can do so without sacrificing any essential principle or point of our foreign policy, we might as well do so.

In case, however, you feel that we must recognise China earlier than others, I feel that we might have a discussion in the Cabinet. After all, in such an important matter, it is only fair to our Cabinet colleagues that we take them into confidence.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
6 December 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of the 6th about China. The UN session ends within a week. There was no intention of recognising the new regime in China immediately after the session. But roughly the date given by us to the Commonwealth Governments has been by Christmas time. You might have noticed that the answers in the House of Commons went a little beyond what I have said. In this matter the UK Government is anxious to recognise China early and even before some of the Commonwealth countries. During all our discussions in London and elsewhere, it was recognised by others that it might be desirable for India to accord recognition earlier than some of the others, but in consultation with them. Our advisers are of opinion that it would be definitely harmful to recognise them after the Commonwealth countries have done so. It would mean that we have no policy of our own, but follow the dictates of other countries. Burma is anxious to recognise and is being held back by us.

Canada entirely agreed with our viewpoint when we discussed it and indeed supported it before the USA. But because

New Delhi
13 November 1949

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With kindest regards,

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India House
Aldwych
London, W.C. 2

New Delhi
6 December 1949

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ENCLOSURE

Consulate General for India
Goa

16 December 1949

My dear Mr. Menon,¹

Will you please refer to correspondence resting with your D O. letter dated 15 November?

2. In the context of this correspondence I am now enclosing some newspaper cuttings relating to an interview which Mr. Samaldas Gandhi gave to a Portuguese journalist, Mr. A. B. de Aguiar, who was recently in Goa (please see paragraph No. 33 of Monthly Report No. 21) on his way back to Lisbon after having toured the "World created by the Portuguese." The alleged remarks of Mr. Gandhi, apart from the comments by March, have caused quite a lot of consternation among Goans favourable to us; and offered an excellent opportunity to Portuguese propaganda as typified by the cutting sent with this letter from a local newspaper. In addition to the propaganda in Goa it can be taken for certain that the article of Mr. Aguiar, with the fulsome praise of Mr. Gandhi to give body to his remarks, has been given full publicity in Lisbon and East and West Africa.

3. The remarks of Mr. Gandhi, even if true, can be ignored by us, though this should not be taken to mean that frequent utterances of this nature by men in Mr. Gandhi's position should be encouraged as they do quite a lot of harm in places like Goa. I am bringing this matter to your notice for another reason, which is that Mr. Gandhi, to my way of thinking, has relations with the Portuguese in Diu quite outside the requirements of his work. For instance, some time earlier in the year Mr. Gandhi apparently paid an official visit to Diu as the guest of the Governor and in general gave the impression that India, or at least its units, had very close and cordial relations with the Portuguese territories in India. This impression has been further heightened not only by the reported interview but by the fact that Mr. Aguiar was the guest of Mr. Gandhi, who personally conducted this paid Portuguese Government propaganda agent on a sightseeing tour of Junagadh! Incidentally, this encomiast and champion of Mr. Gandhi did not have the courtesy of calling on the Consulate when he was in Goa.

¹ K. P. S. Menon: ICS; Agent-General, Government of India in China, 1943-47; Ambassador in China, March 1947; Foreign Secretary, Government of India, May 1948-September 1952; Ambassador to USSR, Hungary and Poland, 1952-61

of the USA, they felt that they might wait a little, even though the UK might not.

The exact date does not matter. But it is rather important that this should be done before the Colombo Conference. We are as a matter of fact in continuous consultation with the ambassadors here as well as their respective countries and are acting in concert with most of them and there is no feeling on their part that we are acting independently.

If you like, I shall put it up before the Cabinet. But the date depends on so many factors that it will have to be left open. Most members of the Cabinet have hardly followed these intricate conversations and consultations. But as you are interested, I shall of course consult you before taking any action.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

79

New Delhi
30 December 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received by us from Ashok Mehta,¹ our Consul-General at Goa. Also quotations from various statements alleged to have been made by Samaldas Gandhi² in Goa. I understand that March referred to these in its issue of 7 December 1949.

You will see that Samaldas Gandhi has been making very extraordinary statements. In fact his whole behaviour has been that of a propagandist for Portugal. It would be improper for any Indian to go about behaving in this way, much more so for a Minister in the Saurashtra Government and a nephew of Gandhiji.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

¹ Ashok Nanalal Mehta: Member, Indian Foreign Service; First Secretary, Indian Embassy in Paris, 1951; Under Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1953-56; First Secretary, and Charge d'affaires, Vienna, 1957-59; Director, Ministry of External Affairs, 1963; Ambassador of India in Kabul

² Head of provisional Government set up in Junagadh

New Delhi
20 December 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

With reference to the talk we had this morning about an Assistant Secretary-General for the UNO I have been thinking over the matter and have since seen a letter from K.P.S. Menon saying that you feel that Shri S. Lall, Secretary, Labour Ministry, and Shri C. S. Venkatachar, at present Regional Commissioner in Rajasthan, might be recommended and hope that it would be possible for us to spare the latter. It is a key post and my own feeling is that, even if it means a substantial loss to the Government of India, we should spare a first-rate officer for this post. Personally, I feel doubtful whether either of the two persons selected would come in this category. S. Lall's experience is more or less departmental. I doubt if Venkatachar will fit in so well in the UNO set-up. I say so from a first-hand knowledge of his work. A man so highly placed in the UNO Secretariat can be a great asset to us not only in working up things through the Secretariat, but also in influencing Trigvie Lie and other higher UNO officials. Moreover, if he makes a success of his job, he would enhance India's reputation and would pave the way for a greater recruitment of Indians in the UNO Secretariat. Considering everything, I felt that I would ask you again to reconsider whether we should not let Iengar go. You know him as well as I do. I have found him quite at home in the diplomatic atmosphere. He has a very wide experience of Indian affairs and is one of those few persons in the Service who are equally at home in technical and non-technical subjects. I fully realise his value to us and I can assure you that I would be parting with him with very great reluctance, but I feel that, though he would be a great loss to me in particular and the Government of India, he would probably be an asset to India in the UNO Secretariat. If you agree with me in what I have said above I would be prepared to spare him in spite of our difficulties due to shortage of able and good men here.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

4. It is my opinion, which I express with some diffidence, that it might be a good thing to request Mr. Gandhi to confine himself in his contacts with the Portuguese, either visiting or stationed in Diu, to the minimum and consistent with his work. I am making this suggestion as the Portuguese Governor-General will be touring Daman and Diu in January and might feel inclined to get Mr. Gandhi to repeat his sentiments about Portugal for another propaganda stunt here and elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,
Ashok Mehta

K. P. S. Menon, Esq., ICS
Secretary
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

EXTRACTS

From the Heraldo of 17-11-1949

By Armando de Aguiar

At tea time and in a garden covered with fine turf, Shri Samaldas Gandhi, Minister for Refugees and Propaganda, Member of the Council of the "Big Five", who in Delhi studies the new Constitution of India, which will come into force on 26 January 1950, and the owner-cum-director of the most important newspaper published on the Malabar Coast, written in Gujarati, Vande Mataram, received the journalist with one of his warmest smiles.

* * *

THE PORTRAIT OF AN INDIAN POLITICIAN

Physically he is a giant. Intellectually, a man of acute intelligence, Politically a pure Indian, following the doctrine of his uncle Mahatma Gandhi already deified by all the Hindus. In three sentences, this is the portrait of the Hon'ble Shri Samaldas Gandhi, the all-powerful in India, and specially in Kathiawar, where Portugal extends naturally to the land of Diu.

It was the present Governor of Diu, Captain Paiva Couceiro, who in less than twelve months' stay in this strip of Portuguese India, won for Portugal a good friend in the person of the famous Indian politician. The Indian Union owes to Shri Samaldas Gandhi the inclusion, within its frontiers, of the Kathiawar Peninsula, the greater portion of which was ruled by Muslims.

And he repeats the following sentence which he had uttered before after his visit to Diu:

"With leaders possessing the qualities of Captain Paiva Couceiro, I believe that Portugal will still remain with us, for many hundreds of years."

"India will always be on the side of Truth & Reason."

"When you return to Lisbon, tell your Government that it can count on me as an admirer, and that I am a great friend of Portugal."

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar
Carlton House
Bangalore

86

New Delhi
13 January 1949

My dear Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar,

In my last letter to you I referred to certain difficulties which we were experiencing. Those difficulties seem to be clearing up though they are not yet finally out of the way, but I think I should tell you that your name is being considered for the Governorship of Assam and I hope that, if all goes well and you hear from Jawaharlal about it, you will not give any hesitant reply but will accept it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Bangalore

87

Carlton House
Bangalore
15 January 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of 13 January and I really do not know how to muster courage to reply to it. You have been the one great leader of the Congress who has been generous and even over-generous towards me, who has extended his valuable appreciation to what little I have done during the last year at Geneva and Paris. How can I be sufficiently grateful for it all? And now it is all too clear that it is your support that may make it possible to have the offer of the governorship of a province.

Carlton House
Bangalore
7 January 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am most grateful to you for your kind letter which reached me yesterday in a Moffusil town where I was with His Highness on tour. I do not know what is contemplated but any work where I may be useful, I shall certainly undertake and carry out instructions.

I wish to state that I have accepted the invitation of the Secretary-General, UNO, Mr. Trigvie Lie, to be a member of the International Civil Services Board. I understand it will meet in New York in the second week of March, the meeting lasting not more than two weeks. It seems to me that I must keep this engagement.

I am indeed grateful to you for thinking of utilising my services and am extremely touched by the confidence you repose in me.

With best wishes to you and sister Maniben,

Yours truly,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
9 January 1949

My dear Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar,

Thank you for your letter of 7 January 1949.

At the time I wrote to you, things were going along smoothly, and I thought that there would be no difficulty, but now some hitch has arisen and until the obstacles are cleared, I think it would not be proper for me to say anything definite. I am still trying and will let you know if things are settled satisfactorily.

My only intention was to express how undesirable it would be if anybody got the impression from the procedure we adopted that the file was being tossed about from one Minister to another until there was an agreement between the Governor-General and the Minister. This, to my mind, would be the impression created if the Law Minister were to put up the papers to you, and on your disagreement with him, you sent the papers to the Home Minister, and subsequently if you happened to disagree with the Home Minister also, you sent the papers to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi 1
18 January 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I had written to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the hope that the Government of India may be able to do something in the matter. From a reply received from Panditji, a copy of which is enclosed, it seems that he very much appreciates the idea but due to the financial commitments of the Government of India at the moment the Government may not be able to do anything for the time being.

I hope and believe that this situation will not last long and will improve very soon, and being of that view I beg to suggest that you might very kindly take some interest in the matter. The Indian chiefs themselves are also to some extent responsible to see that these people can maintain themselves, but in some cases it may not be possible for them to do so. I, therefore, suggest that if with your influence you could induce the Indian chiefs and States to collect, say, about a crore of rupees for this good object and create a sort of trust for the purposes suggested by me in my letter to Panditji then we could tide over during the period of financial stringency.

I hope you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and I know anything to which you put your shoulder is bound to succeed.

S.C.-VIII-7

And yet I find myself in the unhappy situation of being compelled to express my inability to take advantage of your kindness. I wrote by yesterday's post when I found the rumours very strong my reasons for such inability. I stated that my wife's heart will not permit her to live at such a height as Shillong is and that is the most compelling reason for my inability. May I pray that I may be forgiven? May I assure you that it is not out of a desire to remain only in Mysore? I shall be happy to serve in any capacity either in India or outside India provided it does not involve my wife living in high altitudes. I appeal to your generosity to excuse me for I feel I may have let you down.

Yours truly,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Camp Bardoli
18 January 1949

My dear Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar,

Thank you for your letter of 14 January 1949. You must have already received my letter of 13 January. I am sorry that the proposition which I put forward is not suitable to you, but in view of the reasons which you have given, I do not think we can press you against your wishes.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar
Bangalore

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New Delhi
6 January 1949

My dear Rajaji,

With reference to our talk yesterday, I have looked into the matter again. I am sorry if my letter gave you any impression of lack of courtesy. I am sure you will agree that I would not even be the last person to be guilty of any act of discourtesy to you personally or to the high and distinguished office which you hold.

ENCLOSURE II

New Delhi
17 January 1949

My dear Shri Ramji,

Thank you for your letter of 10 January.

I entirely agree with you that we should do something to encourage the preservation and growth of Indian culture and arts. I think this should be the duty of the State. Indeed, there might well be a special department to deal with it. In France there is a Ministry of Fine Arts. For the present, however, we are not in a position to spread out in any way or to undertake any scheme involving considerable expenditure in money. I hope that something can be done about this later.

With all good wishes to you for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
27 January 1949

My dear Sir Shri Ram,

Thank you for your letter of 18 January 1949.

2. As the Prime Minister has said, the matter which you have raised should be the duty of the State. I do not think that private enterprise can be of much help and in present conditions I am doubtful whether the Princes and states can help.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir Shri Ram
New Delhi

Thanking you and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shri Ram¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

10 January 1949

My dear Panditji,

For some time I have been thinking to bring to your notice a thing which has been on my mind. The Indian chiefs, with all their shortcomings, were doing one great service to the country, and that was the patronage which they extended to innumerable artists like painters, musicians, singers, dancers and to literary people like poets, writers, etc. etc. It is due to the Indian chiefs that these cultural things are still existing. With the disappearance of the States and the curtailment of the income of the chiefs there is every danger of these people suffering to the extent that they may completely disappear in course of time.

I know your love for old Indian culture and arts and it is, therefore, that I am suggesting to you that it must be the duty of the State to encourage these people even more than they were encouraged in the past by literally hundreds of states big or small.

Personally, I think that a statutory board [should] be created, composed mainly of experts or well-known people in these various lines, a few public men and a few administrators and a sum of at least 50 lakhs of rupees should be placed at their disposal to encourage these people.

I hope you will please excuse.

Wishing you a very happy New Year and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shri Ram

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ Sir Shri Ram: Industrialist of Delhi

This letter puts a different complexion on the matter. Still I think I might as well send you the previous letter I wrote to you. I am therefore attaching it to this.

The question now is the choice of some one else. In my other letter I have suggested Sri Prakasa¹ who I think will be good. I presume he will accept if pressed to do so. But he may take a little time to reach there. The only other name that strikes me for the moment is Subbarayan's.² We know his good points and his weak points. I shall await your reply.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Carlton House
Bangalore
14 January 1949

Your Excellency,

It is with some hesitation that I have ventured to write this letter and I request that I may be forgiven if in doing so I have indulged in any impropriety. The papers have been publishing rumours about my being required to take up some appointment. The latest and most persistent report in the newspapers is that I may be asked to take up the Governorship of Assam. I do not know how far such a proposal is even under consideration.

I have however felt that even at this stage I should respectfully make known my feelings in the matter. Great as the dignity and honour that surrounds such a position as a Governorship is, I feel that I may be of more active service to the State in some other capacity. But even more than this I would be unable to assume such a position in Assam for various domestic reasons. It will not suit my wife, as Shillong is over 5,000 ft. high and medical advice is insistent that she cannot live at such an altitude. There are other reasons also of a domestic nature which would compel me to feel unable to accept this high honour but my wife's health is the most serious of all.

New Delhi
13 January 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I have read the enclosed letters which Jawaharlal has received from Rafi.¹ I remain of the same opinion as before viz. that [Sir Ramaswami] Mudaliar would be the best choice—indeed the only choice—for the Governorship of Assam. Both the alternatives mentioned by Rafi are not free from difficulties. If we have to face difficulties, it is better we face in the case of one in whose administrative ability at least we have the fullest confidence. The defects pointed out by Rafi are, in the first place, in the nature of hearsay; secondly, even if there is something in it, it is quite clear that, as Governor, there would be little scope for these. We have tolerated unsavoury past in quite a number of persons who are now assisting us in various spheres.

I see no reason why in the interests of the province of Assam we should not tolerate it in Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

16 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This morning I wrote a longish letter to you. As I was on the point of sending it I received a note from Rajaji enclosing a letter from Ramaswami Mudaliar which he had received. I enclose this.

¹ R. A. Kidwai: Member and whip, Swaraj Party, in Central Assembly, 1926-29; member, CWC, 1956; Minister in UP, 1936-39 and 1946; member, CA; later Central Minister of Communication and of Food in Nehru Cabinet

occasions and who observed what happened there, feels very keenly about it. It is none of his business to speak to me about it and I have of course not discussed it with him. But in quite another connection, and in view of newspaper reports, he could not just help giving out how he felt.

All this may be put aside if we were convinced of the rightness of the appointment. We could and should face the public reaction if, in our view, we had done the correct thing. It is here really that my headache comes in. In view of the various allegations made and stories circulated and the rather aggressive anti-Congress record of Mudaliar, his appointment becomes significant whether those allegations are true or not is almost beside the point. There is widespread talk of them and belief in them and our choosing him in spite of all this for a spectacular appointment means either that we have gone into this matter carefully and found all charges and stories without foundation, or that we do not attach importance to charges of lack of personal integrity, apart from a very strong anti-Congress bias. In the atmosphere of today this might have a very bad effect on public morality and might also lower Congress prestige greatly or at any rate our Government's prestige. This is a serious matter and it is this that is troubling me.

I have had a talk with Rajaji and he told me what you said to him and showed me your letter to him. I appreciate what you say but the wider implications to which I have referred above appear to me to deserve very careful consideration. The least that can be said is that Mudaliar's appointment will not be a safe appointment from this point of view. I should like you to consider all this. Meanwhile I am taking no further step.

As per alternatives, I suggested to Rajaji the name of Sri Prakasa. It is a good name and I know that Prakasa is rather worn out by his year and a half in Karachi. He would like to be released from there and have a change. I have not of course mentioned this to him.

In the event of Sri Prakasa leaving Karachi it might be possible to induce Prafulla Ghose¹ to go there. I am not sure that he will agree but he might do so. I think he would fit in there well.

I shall be grateful if you will write or wire to me—or we can wait till you come back. The delay is unfortunate but I

¹ Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh: Chief Minister of West Bengal after independence

I have felt it my duty to bring these facts to the kind notice of Your Excellency and again hope to be forgiven if I have violated any of the proprieties.

I beg to remain,

Yours truly,

A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

H.E. C. Rajagopalachari

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New Delhi

26 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am feeling your absence from Delhi at this stage when a number of problems are pressing for solution and I would like to consult you about them. We have got so used to [these] consultations that any long absence produces a gap which troubles me.

I shall not trouble you about these matters—there is the Asian Conference and several diplomatic appointments to be considered and the horrible racial riots in Durban—at this stage. The Asian Conference will be over by the time you come. One result of our convening it has been to push the Security Council some considerable distance and they are going to propose a resolution which, though not entirely satisfactory from our point of view, still is on the whole favourable to the Indonesians.

Then there is the Kashmir cease-fire etc. Already there are conflicts showing their heads. Now that our aide-memoires have been published, there will be controversy, more especially about the disarming and disbanding of the Azad Kashmir forces, we cannot possibly give up or weaken on this point.

But one matter I want to write to you about as it is giving me a bad headache. This is the Governorship of Assam. I owe you an apology for this for we have already discussed it several times. I am unable to get over a feeling that Ramaswami Mudaliar's appointment will be unfortunate. Rafi, as you know, has been protesting, but it is not that that matters so much to me. Gopalaswami, who was not present at the Cabinet meeting when we discussed this, is also strongly opposed to it. I casually mentioned it to Katju and he reacted in a similar way. There is little doubt that this kind of reaction is widespread. K.P.S. Menon, who was associated with Mudaliar abroad on some

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TELEGRAM

Homein
New Delhi

FOLLOWING FROM SHANKAR¹ FOR IENGAR HOMEIN. YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 21 JANUARY. PLEASE INFORM GADGIL NO QUESTION OF RELEASE OF RSS PRISONERS ARISES AT PRESENT. REGARDING NAYAR SARDAR DOES NOT WANT PAPERS IMMEDIATELY. YOU MIGHT LIKE SEND THEM WITH BUCHI OR GADGIL WHO ARE COMING TOMORROW BY PLANE TO JAMNAGAR.

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TELEGRAM

22 January 1949

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

YOUR NOTE DATED 18 JANUARY REGARDING NATIONAL RELIEF FUND [See enclosure]. I AGREE TO THE PROPOSALS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE.

VALLABHBHAI

ENCLOSURE

PRIME MINISTER'S NATIONAL RELIEF FUND

No meeting of the Board of Trustees of this Fund has been held for some time. I am, therefore, sending a statement of account up-to-date for their information and for their approval. The statement is up to the end of December 1948, but a note has been added to make it up-to-date, that is up to 16 January 1949.

His Excellency the Governor-General has asked me for a grant of Rs. 1 lakh for the work of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. This Council has been doing good work and has a large number of centres of activity. They have almost exhausted the funds at their disposal. I think that their work should be continued and should not be allowed to suffer

¹ V. Shankar: ICS; Sardar Patel's Private Secretary; retired as Defence Secretary

suppose it will not matter much. I am anxious to avoid a wrong step.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

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TELEGRAM

21 January 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Camp Baroda

FOLLOWING IS MESSAGE WHICH MR. GADGIL HAS ASKED ME TO PASS ON TO YOU. BEGINS. READ IN TODAY'S PAPERS GOLWALKAR¹ CALLING OFF RSS² SATYAGRAHA. THIS IS AS WAS EXPECTED. HOWEVER, I THINK RELEASE SHOULD NOT FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY, BUT MAY FOLLOW EIGHT DAYS AFTER DECISION GANDHIJI MURDER TRIAL. THIS IS A MATTER WHICH YOU MAY CONSIDER. ALTERNATIVELY, RELEASES MAY NOT BE SUDDEN; THEY MAY BE SCHEDULED. THIS IS MY VIEW. ENDS.

REFERENCE TO MY TELEGRAM REGARDING NAYAR.³ ON FURTHER CONSIDERATION, I WOULD PREFER NOT TO SEND PAPERS WHICH ARE TOP SECRET AND WILL KEEP THEM HERE FOR YOU UNLESS YOU WANT ME TO SEND THEM.

FOREIGN

¹ Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar: Professor, Banaras Hindu University, 1930; leader of RSS until his death in June 1973

² Volunteer organisation founded with object of protecting Hindu religion and culture with headquarter in Nagpur

³ Sushila Nayar: Gandhi's personal physician at Sevagram Ashram, Wardha: Minister and later Speaker of Delhi Legislative Assembly (now defunct); Union Minister of Health under Nehru and Indira Gandhi, 1962-67

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TELEGRAM

Homein
New Delhi

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97
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¹ V. Shankar: ICS, Sardar Patel's Private Secretary; retired as Defence Secretary

from lack of funds. The United Council, it should be remembered, is an organisation consisting of representatives of a large number of relief organisations in India. Helping the United Council, therefore, means helping all these other relief organisations through the United Council. I think that we should agree to sanction this grant of Rs. 1 lakh to the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I shall be grateful for the approval of the Trustees for this grant.

The recent deplorable occurrences in Durban in South Africa have created major problems of relief for Indians there. The first responsibility is that of the Government of the Union of South Africa. I think, however, that the Indians in South Africa should organise some non-official relief work also. We have suggested this to our representative there and asked him not only for full particulars but also as to what can be done. It will be remembered that we withdrew our High Commissioner from South Africa some time ago. His Secretary and his office continue to function there.

In case the need arises for us to send some financial help for the relief of Indians in Durban, the Government of India will no doubt have to consider this matter. But it might be desirable to send a sum of money, say, Rs. 1 lakh, for immediate relief. I suggest that this might be done from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. I should like the views of the Trustees of this Fund on this suggested grant, if need arises.

The present members of the Board of Trustees of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund are:

The Prime Minister (Chairman)
 The President of the Indian National Congress
 (Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya)
 The Deputy Prime Minister
 (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel)
 The Minister for Finance
 (Dr. John Matthai)
 Shri Badridas Goenka,¹ Calcutta
 Shri Homi Mody,² Bombay
 Shri M. O. Mathai is the Secretary of the Board.

I shall be grateful for an early reply from the members of the Board.

18-1-1949

J. Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹ Rai Bahadur Sir Badridas Goenka: M.L.C, Bengal, 1923-25; President FICCI, 1945-46

² Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1929-43 and Constituent Assembly, 1948-49; Governor of Bombay; Chairman, Central Bank of India; Governor of UP, May 1949-June 1952

Government House
New Delhi
1 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I don't much like this growing practice of public parties organised by private gentlemen to honour officials, judges etc. [See enclosure]. Very probably, in old days these things were strictly regulated by rules. Can you not have the matter looked into and see if we can have a uniform and strict conformity in such matters? Your department must have rules on the subject. Otherwise every big officer will have a party and poor people will be compelled to join for the sake of peace.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
30 January 1949

My dear Rajaji,

The citizens of Delhi are giving a public reception to Justice Mehrchand Mahajan,¹ Judge of the Federal Court, on 27 February at 5.15 p.m. in the Roshanara Club, Delhi. The citizens of Delhi will feel highly honoured if you could kindly grace the occasion with your presence. A formal invitation will follow.

Thanking you and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Deshbandhu [Gupta]²

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

There are reports, which unfortunately I cannot disbelieve, regarding some high-placed officers in the Industry and Supply, Commerce and W. M. P. [Works, Mines and Power] Ministries. There is also a general impression that the rules governing the conduct of Government servants in receiving presents are not as strictly applicable today as they were before the present Government came into power.

I think I made it quite clear in my speech that I have a high regard for several officers serving in the Secretariat. I also revealed my anxiety to see that the highest standards of integrity, merit and efficiency are maintained in regard to recruitment and promotion. On the other hand, I cannot conceal my fears that unless something effective is done by the Cabinet, the impression will continue to prevail that there is laxity in the observance of these standards.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Shiva Rao

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
8 March 1949

My dear Shiva Rao,

Thank you for your letters of 5 and 7 March 1949. I am very glad that you have given me all the details.

2. As I have already explained several times on the floor of the House, we have to take ex-employees of Government, whether retired or removed from service, because of the prevailing manpower shortage. You know as well as I do that, as a result of the expansion of the departments and the depletion in the Services, there have been quick promotions. At the same time, the expansion continues and we have to see that, as far as possible, we get men of experience in the various posts, which have to be filled even at short notice. The pressure and urgency are such that we cannot afford in many cases to wait until we select a raw recruit and train him. It is to deal with this problem that we hit upon the plan of making emergency recruitment to the IAS. I hope that, when the final recruitments to this emergency cadre are made, our position will be better. But till then, I can assure

you that the position is very difficult and there is very often hardly any choice before Government. The taking into service of retired or "removed" persons naturally gives rise to discontent, but I feel that the Services as a whole have had such quick promotions that they can have no reasonable cause for complaint or for demoralisation if a handful of persons are taken from amongst the categories referred to above. Actually the quick promotions have affected the general efficiency of the Services. None is, or can be, more conscious of keeping up the morale of the Services and Government servants than myself, and none has laboured more for it. If, therefore, I have taken or we have agreed to take any of these personnel, it is only because we felt that for the time being at any rate we have no alternative and that, in preferring them to men who might have been promoted, we are on just grounds.

3. There is also the general position that removal from service does not place a bar on reemployment. The cases to which you have referred are of removal from service and not dismissal. At the time the department proceedings are finalised, the question whether the person should be dismissed or removed from service is carefully considered in the light of the facts disclosed in the departmental enquiry, the gravity of the delinquency and other circumstances that may be relevant. If, therefore, the order is in favour of removal, we must assume that Government did not consider the person concerned unsuitable for further employment, should a suitable opportunity occur after some time.

4. Shri S. S. Bajpai, one of the cases you had in mind, was taken in employment during the war. He was taken in the I & B Ministry; then his services were transferred to the Commerce Ministry to which he now belongs. I believe his appointment to the present post was made in consultation with the External Affairs Ministry. Originally, he was removed from service on account of his financial embarrassments. This is, therefore, not a case of reemployment by the present Ministry, but of his continued retention. If you have anything against him on his Paris record, I suggest that you bring it to the notice of the Commerce Minister, who I am sure will give his careful attention to whatever you may have to say on this subject. I understand from H.M. Commerce that he is being asked to return to India.

5. As regards Shri C. K. Desai, who is now Chief Commissioner, Cutch, the position is as follows. He was at first dismissed from service on account of his misconduct, but was given compassionate

allowance. Ordinarily dismissal precludes compassionate allowance, but since in this case a compassionate allowance was given, we can assume that the Public Service Commission at the time did not take such a grave view of his conduct. His case was first represented to us in 1938 by Mr. V. N. Mehta, who was then Commissioner in UP. He suggested that the case should be reviewed because an overstrict view of the case had been taken because of Shri Desai's nationalistic views. I referred this case to Pantji, and as far as I remember, the case was taken up, but it was not possible to take it further partly because of the then European set-up and partly because we left office in 1939. When we assumed office, Mr. Desai renewed his representations, which were referred to the UP Government. The UP Government took the view that, even on the facts then proved, the punishment of dismissal was too severe and the case was really one of removal; they also increased his compassionate allowance. Later, when we were in need of a suitable officer for the post of Regional Commissioner and we could not find a man from any province, we nominated him to the post of Regional Commissioner, Kolhapur. His case was thus reviewed after about 20 years of the original order, a period after which even a life convict is given a chance to rehabilitate himself. He did very good work at Kolhapur. When the appointment of Chief Commissioner, Cutch, had to be made, we asked Bombay Government whether they could suggest a suitable officer who knew Gujarati. They could not suggest any. The post of Regional Commissioner, Kolhapur, was rendered surplus by the merger of the Deccan States in Bombay. We, therefore, transferred Shri C. K. Desai to the post of Chief Commissioner, Cutch. The appointment is temporary, and we are on the look-out for a suitable man from the regular Service to replace him. In fact, we have written to the Bombay Government already to suggest some suitable officer. In the meantime, you would be interested to know that the local Praja Mandal and the Cutch representative in the Constituent Assembly speak very well of his work and are quite averse to any change until the prevalent famine conditions improve.

6. Regarding N. C. Mehta, he had retired in the ordinary course after a good reputation and record of efficiency and ability. I do not know what Bakshi Tek Chand has against Mr. N. C. Mehta, but if he had anything, it was his duty to have brought it to my notice, and I could have taken note of it. You will appreciate that, unless men of standing regard it as their duty to bring to the notice of competent persons such facts and would be prepared

to prove them, if it came to that stage, it is impossible to take cognizance of such matters. The question of a radio set was never brought to my notice. But if it is a fact, it is difficult to believe that there was any question of mala fides. The article seems to me of too trivial a value to tempt an officer of such seniority and standing.

7. You have then referred to the case of Shri Bhandari who was also removed from service and had to be employed by us as Assistant Regional Commissioner of Indore, in view of the same difficulty of manpower to which I have referred above. I should like to add that, previous to this, Bhandari had been employed in some other post during the war and had been well spoken of. However, in view of his previous history, we took him in a comparatively minor post, so that we might try him. He was Assistant Regional Commissioner, Indore, for already a year, when his services were dispensed with.

8. The cases in the provinces are, of course, beyond our jurisdiction. Only one case from the Punjab has come to my notice. The Punjab Government wished to employ Mr. Brar, who was formerly in the I.P., but when given the choice between facing an enquiry and resignation, he preferred to resign. The East Punjab Government proposed that he should be reemployed in the Indian Police and we turned the request down.

9. I hope I have given you all the facts about the specific instances to which you refer and also the difficulties with which we are faced and the circumstances in which the employment of persons to which you refer was virtually forced on us. I hope you will agree with me that, before you made use of these specific instances for your general remarks, you might have acquainted yourself with the facts by approaching me or the Minister concerned. The morale of the Services is much more seriously affected by sweeping remarks which some of the members make in the House than by employment of a handful of retired or discharged persons. As I have already said above, the latter affects the promotions of a small number of Government servants who, in normal times, could not have hoped for the quick promotions which they have got, or are getting, or are likely to get. But the general remarks attacking the Services have almost a devastating effect, and I am always deluged with complaints from Government servants of various grades. I particularly remember the attack made by Mohanlal Saxena last year, when I was on my sick bed. I am glad,

therefore, that you brought up the aspect of preserving the morale of Government servants in your speech.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. Shiva Rao
Member, Constituent Assembly
4, Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

103

New Delhi
9 March 1949

Dear Sardarji,

I am grateful to you for your letter of 8 March 1949. I greatly appreciate the trouble you have taken in furnishing me details of the cases to which I had referred in my two letters to you.

In view of the importance of the issue raised, I hope that you will permit me to explain my point of view. In my speech on the budget, on account of the timelimit imposed on speakers, I could not say more than I did in regard to officers removed from service being reinstated and placed in responsible positions. I am aware of the fact that an officer removed from office is eligible for reemployment.

I am aware too of the serious strain on Government in finding suitable personnel in view of the large-scale retirement of officers or of officers opting out for Pakistan after 15 August 1947. Nevertheless I was, and still am, of the view that men, who were removed from service by findings of the Public Services Commission on grounds of serious irregularity or impropriety of conduct while in service, should not be reinstated. In saying this I am not thinking of the discontent that may be caused among service men by any such reinstatement. But I am strongly of the opinion that Government should attach the utmost importance to integrity among its officers. Reinstatement of a man removed for chronic indebtedness and incapacity to repay loans—which is a euphemism for taking bribes—has a disastrous effect on men in the services. Government cannot afford to lower standards of integrity. For me it is not a question of a few or more officers being reinstated.

The problem of shortage of officers, especially in the higher ranks, has no doubt been a serious one. It could and should have been tackled by raising the age of retirement from 55 to 58 as has been suggested by the Pay Commission. Personally I have no objection to retired men being brought back for a certain period in order to meet an emergency.

I hope you will not mind my expressing my views so frankly, because I know that in the Central Secretariat as well as in the provinces the code of conduct prescribed for Government servants has less meaning today than under the British.

I do not think you can find in the speeches I have made in the Assembly a single word to discourage the members of the services. On the other hand, I have always stood up for their just rights. I am bound to press for measures of economy in every Ministry; but I am anxious to see our services contented, wholeheartedly loyal to the Government and above temptation of every sort.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Shiva Rao

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

104

New Delhi
12 March 1949

My dear Ambedkar,¹

Some time ago, in a talk with the Governor-General, you brought up the case of the appointment of Shri C. K. Desai. It was recently referred to in the Assembly, and Shri B. Shiva Rao had this case in mind when he made some remarks in his speech on the Budget. I am sending herewith a copy of an extract of my letter to Shri Shiva Rao, which explains the circumstances of the case.

2. I should like to add that I was hurt to know that you took this matter to the Governor-General without even mentioning it to me and ascertaining what the facts were. I am sure you will

¹Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Member, RTC, 1930-32; member, Viceroy's Executive Council, July 1912-June 1916; member, C.A.; Law Minister in Nehru Cabinet

agree that I deserved better from a friend and colleague of mine. Apart from any other consideration, it has been my sincere and earnest endeavour to avoid any importation of undesirable features in the administration of my departments and any importation of such a nature, I can assure you, would always secure from me a full review and, if necessary, retracing of any step that may have been unwittingly taken. I hope you are improving and will soon be able to return back.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar
Law Minister
New Delhi

105

New Delhi
4 March 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter Ashutosh Lahiri is reported to have written to [V. D.] Savarkar.¹ You will notice that the lady referred to therein is reported to be in active contact with you for the purpose of changing your mental outlook and a belief is expressed that higher powers are guiding the destiny of India, together with the hope that this new contact, if it effectuates, might lead to quite new developments.

2. I should like to know if you have experienced any influence of the ethereal inspiration and whether the new contact has been responsible for any new development.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ A veteran revolutionary; President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1943-44

ENCLOSURE
INTELLIGENCE BUREAU

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

It is learnt from a reliable source that Ashutosh Lahiri, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, New Delhi, has written to V. D. Savarkar, Savarkar Sadan, Dadar, Bombay, as follows:

"I think you remember that I sent to you some sacred offerings, bound in a red cloth, given to me for your welfare by that pious lady 'Sharadda Mata' about whom possibly you do not know much. I came into contact with her during the last few months and I have come to entertain very profound regards for her personality. She is an M.A. of the Punjab University. In 1941 she retired into the hills in Uttar Kashi and Gangotri where she spent seven years in silent sadhana [meditation]. She came back to the plains in January 1948 and since then she has been moving about with the noble object of truly laying the foundations of the free Indian State on the basis of ancient Indian culture. She calls our religion Manav Dharma and she believes that the wisdom embodied in the Vedas, Upanishads and Gita represents the highest human achievement which some day or the other will be accepted by the entire humanity. Compared to her age and her lack of political experience, I must admit that her study of the present political situation is astonishingly far-seeing.

"She paid a visit to Delhi a number of times and she addressed a private conference of some MLAs including Messrs. K. M. Munshi,¹ Purshottam Das Tandon,² Anantasanyanam Ayyangar,³ Seth Govind Das⁴ and others at the residence of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. She created a deep impression on everybody and some of them are in active contact with her. She is working for changing the mental outlook of the outstanding Congress leaders and for that purpose, she has also been in active contact with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

¹ Founder of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; Home Minister (Bombay), 1937-39; member, CA, 1946-50; Agent-General in Hyderabad, 1947; Central Food Minister, 1950-52; Governor of UP, 1952-57

² Speaker of UP Assembly, 1937-39; member, CA; Congress President, 1950

³ Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha and later Speaker, 1954-62; Governor of Bihar, 1962-67

⁴ Oldest parliamentarian, became MLA in 1923; AICC member since 1920; prolific Hindi writer

"She is calling a cultural conference in Lucknow, which is her headquarters at present and Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee¹ is organizing the conference on her behalf. Besides a number of other persons, including Mohanlal Gautam, a Congress MLA, are helping for the success of this conference. The conference will be held on 5 and 6 April next for which an official invitation will be sent to you by Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerjee. She desires that you should be present on the occasion. I have no doubt that she entertains a very profound regard not only for our sacrifice and sufferings, but also for the great services that you have rendered as a leader of the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. She has [told] me that she will see to it that you are given your due honoured place in the conference. Mr. Bhopatkar² paid a visit to her and also Dr. Dange. They all appear to be highly impressed with her penetrating way of looking at things. Though I have not been able to agree with her in all that she says in respect of political matters, I feel we should give her whatever support we possibly can in making her cultural conference a success. In some respects your presence will undoubtedly be of supreme value. Many other politicians of outstanding importance, belonging to the Congress as well as the other parties, are likely to join in this conference. This might serve also as a platform where you can have an opportunity of exchanging ideas and forming new contacts which might be greatly helpful.

"I believe that higher powers are guiding the destiny of India. Who knows that this new contact, if it effectuates, might lead to quite new developments!"

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New Delhi
4 March 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 4 March, sending me a copy of a letter of Ashutosh Lahiri. I do not know what the higher powers are doing. But it is perfectly true that the lady in question has met me several times in Delhi and Lucknow. Being averse to meeting sanyasis and the like, I avoided seeing her. But Syama Prasad Mookerjee pressed me to do so. Then, one day, Jagat Narain Lal³ brought her to see me. I found her an attractive and intelligent young woman. Since then she has seen me on several occasions and usually discussed two subjects—the Hindu Code Bill and the question of language, i.e., Hindi. She

¹ Professor of Lucknow University

² Leading Congressman of Poona

³ Congress leader of Bihar; a lieutenant of Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Parliamentary Secretary, Bihar Ministry, 1937-39; leading worker of Bharat Sewak Samaj

tried to influence me in regard to these two matters and I tried to influence her the other way. I do not know what success I have had, but she has had none, so far as I am concerned. She has further been pressing me to attend her conference in Lucknow. I refused to do so, but I sent her a message. She belongs to an Oudh Talukadari family.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

107

New Delhi
20 March 1949

My dear Bardoloi,¹

Please refer to your letters dated 8 and 11 March regarding Majid, Chief Commissioner of the Andaman & Nicobar Islands. The reason why we consider it necessary to shift him from his post is that he has been showing a tendency to bring more and more Muslims into these islands. This we consider dangerous having regard to the present population structure and the strategic importance of the islands. He does not seem to have reconciled himself to our view that the handling of the administrative problems in the islands should be such as to reduce rather than increase the possibilities of mischief by Pakistan in this important area. As you will appreciate, the Chief Commissioner, particularly in an out of the [way] place like this, is in a very important position and we cannot afford to have an incumbent in whom we have not the fullest confidence.

2. Your letter of 11 March seems to have been written under a misunderstanding. Officers were given an option to serve India or Pakistan and Majid expressed his desire to serve India. This does not mean that he wanted to serve only under the Central Government. There is, in fact, no central cadre of the ICS and every member of the service is borne on a provincial cadre. Majid himself is borne on the Assam cadre. Apart from the technicality of this, I do not think that Majid would be useful or desirable for service in the Government of India or in the External Affairs

¹Gopinath Bardoloi: Headed Congress Ministry in Assam in 1937-39 and again in 1945

Ministry. As he will not be the head of the administration there, as he is now in the Andamans, his potentialities for mischief would be very greatly minimised.

3. In these circumstances I am afraid the only alternative before us is to revert him to Assam.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Gopinath Bardoloi
Premier of Assam
Shillong

108

Calcutta
23 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am sending you a note prepared by my indefatigable colleague, Shriji Niharendu Dutt-Majumdar,¹ which will speak for itself. I do not know whether this committee which is reported to have been appointed by the Government of India is composed of residents of the islands. In case the Advisory Committee is for the whole of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, I suggest that West Bengal should have proportionate representation on it.

Yours sincerely,
B. C. Roy²

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

23 April 1949

From an API report from New Delhi published in the local Press this morning I notice the following:

"The Government of India have, in consultation with the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, nominated the following five persons to the Advisory Council for the Andaman Islands for one year from 1 April 1949.

¹ Member of Congress Ministry in West Bengal after partition

² VC, Calcutta University, 1942-44; later Chief Minister of West Bengal

Mr. Akbar Ali
 Mr. Gobinda Rajulu
 Mr. Krishnaswamy
 Mr. Kurnaya
 Mr. Kanhaiyalal

I feel that we should seek to establish a convention to the effect that *in future such Advisory Council may kindly be constituted by the Government of India in consultation with, amongst others, the Premier of West Bengal.*

Niharendu Dutt-Majumdar

109

New Delhi
 26 April 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter dated 23 April 1949 regarding an Advisory Committee for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

2. I do not see why anybody in West Bengal should be worried about that committee. It is composed entirely of the residents of the island and is intended to assist the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the administration of the area. I fail to see where West Bengal comes in.

Yours sincerely,
 Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy
 Premier of West Bengal
 Calcutta

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New Delhi
 20 March 1949

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your letter [See No. 27] which Lady Mountbatten brought with her and delivered to me. It was such a pleasure to hear from you after such a long time, particularly through such a distinguished and affectionate emissary.

We are very glad that you could spare Lady Mountbatten and Pamela to visit India. All of us were delighted to renew our

contacts with them, though their presence here without you could not but have a touch of poignancy. We got so used to seeing all three of you together during those fateful fifteen months that we could hardly reconcile ourselves to meeting you all separately.

I am sure you have kept yourself in touch with the progress of affairs here. We have now gone quite far in the process of settling down, indeed much farther than many would have thought possible a year ago.

You would be interested to read the enclosed memoranda on Indian States and on the Ministry of Home Affairs. I am also enclosing copies of three speeches, which I delivered in the Assembly on the 17th, when the Demands for Grants of the Home and States Ministries were discussed. These will give you some idea of what little we have done and also of some of the difficulties which we have to face. I am sure you will not fail to notice the effect of many of the political settlements in which you played such a distinguished part.

I should like also to acknowledge the great assistance which both of you have rendered to us and to India in moulding public opinion in England on the right lines after your return. India owed a sufficiently heavy debt of gratitude to you both for your services during your Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship. If you add to it this further debt, it is a burden which I doubt whether we can ever discharge. All that we can do now is to wish you and yours the best of happiness, success and everything in life and hope with the poet "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of."

With best wishes,

Ever yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Rt. Hon'ble Rear Admiral the
Earl Mountbatten of Burma
Flag Officer Commanding
First Cruiser Squadron
C/o G.P.O., London

Flag Officer Commanding
First Cruiser Squadron
C/o G.P.O., London
24 June 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am writing to thank you very much indeed for your letter of 20 March, which you sent in reply to the letter I gave my wife to hand to you when she came to India. I had intended writing to you earlier but when I found that Edwina had already written to you I delayed writing as I thought it would be nicer if we wrote at different times and not both on the same day.

First, I must thank you very much indeed for all the kind things which you have said in your letter; I only hope that history will agree with you that I deserved some of them. You do not need me to tell you what a pleasure it has been to try and continue to work in the interests of India; and although, now that I am back in the Navy, I cannot go round making public speeches in the same way, I am trying to continue to give people the right picture.

For instance, I made quite a long speech at a dinner given by 200 of the leading citizens of Malta in which I gave an account of what had been occurring in India. I am at present engaged in going round my Squadron giving lectures on India to the officers and ships' companies. And just before HMS Mauritius left my Squadron (after working up with us for one month) I gave a lecture to her ship's company on the situation in India, so they should be well aware of all that has happened and what you and your Government have achieved.

There is no doubt that the feeling of British people everywhere, whether one meets them in London or Malta or in the Fleet, is one of sincere friendship for India and immense pleasure that it has been found possible for India to remain within the Commonwealth although she has become a Republic.

Our friend Jawaharlal did a magnificent job during the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in London. There

is little doubt that he dominated the whole meeting by his personality and that the brilliant way that he kept silent at the psychological moment and let others speak for him had a profound effect.

But I want you to know that I fully realise how much work you put in, both behind the scenes and subsequently in the open, to bring about this wonderful state of affairs. I shall never forget how surprised I was to find you, whom I had been led to believe would never make friends with the British, were not only a complete realist but were prepared to subordinate your early emotions to what you believed to be the best for your country. I am certain that history will give you great credit for the strong line you took in favour of retaining the link with the Commonwealth, and I have made the part you played in this clear to people over and over again.

I have read with interest the copies of the speeches which you have sent me. May I congratulate you on the courageous way you have spoken up on behalf of the various services in India? It is high time that political agitators stopped sniping at them and realised what a great debt they owe to the vast bulk of the services for the loyal way they are working for the new India. I am sure that the words you used will be a great encouragement to all of them to continue to do their duty.

May I also take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation for the way that you have continued to find employment for Grewal in spite of all that the Government of East Punjab are still trying to do against him? Personally I shall always believe that he was really impartial during the riots in and around Ambala and that by so doing he incurred the enmity of his brother Sikhs. However, the main thing is that he should continue to receive fair treatment from the Government of India.

I am very gratified to note that the Princes of India are behaving so well and that you found yourself able to pay them that generous tribute in your speech. I am sorry, however, to notice that the popular Ministries are not working too well and that you should have had so much trouble with them. I am afraid I am not surprised at this, for my experience with meeting some of the popular Ministries was not very happy. I made a prophecy that you were going to have trouble with the Popular Ministry for the Sikh States. I am sure that you are right in imposing Advisers on them or taking over the Ministries where necessary.

Please give my kindest regards to Maniben. I shall be writing shortly to our mutual friend V.P. .

Neither you nor any of my many friends in India are out of my mind for long.

Yours very sincerely,
Dickie Mountbatten

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

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Camp Doon Court
Dehra Dun
12 July 1949

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 24 June 1949. Somehow it seems to have been delayed in transit because I have got it after more than a fortnight of its leaving your hands.

I was so happy to hear from you after such a long time and I am so glad to know all that you have been doing for us. I think no greater tribute can be paid to the first Governor-General of India than the fact that no one in India regrets that the choice fell on a distinguished member of the British Peerage.

As I said in my Press conference immediately after the Commonwealth decision was announced, that decision was a personal triumph of Jawaharlal's. While I am grateful to you for emphasising my humble part in all the transactions that eventually led to this decision, I myself am quite content to leave the appraisal of my work for the country to future historians rather than contemporary public opinion. After all, the latter is likely to be influenced to some if not a large extent by personal considerations, friendships and loyalties. The former would, I hope, be completely impartial.

I understand that Grewal has again involved himself in some trouble in Vindhya Pradesh where he has been serving. I do not yet know the nature of his difficulties but am awaiting a report. Meantime, his case relating to his Deputy Commissionership of Ambala has, I believe, been entrusted to a Judge of the High Court for his views.

You have not written to me when it would be possible for you to visit India. We should very much like you to come with Lady Mountbatten and your daughter some time in the near future.

With kindest regards from us both to all of you. Many thanks for the volume of your interesting [speeches] which I have just received.

Yours very sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
Flag Officer Commanding
First Cruiser Squadron
C/o G.P.O., London

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Villa Guardamangia
Pieta, Malta
18 April 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I write to tell you how thankful Dickie and I and all our family felt when news came through that you were none the worse for your flying accident. It is only just in the last few days that we have heard details of this and were most distressed when the report came through that the aircraft in which you were travelling to Jaipur was overdue and immensely relieved when, a short time afterwards, the report came through that you had made a forced landing but were safe and sound.

I know what great distress this must have caused all your colleagues and everyone throughout India, although I felt quite certain that you yourself were probably quite unperturbed.

I know that Dickie is writing to you separately but felt I must send you this little personal note just to tell you and Maniben how much I have been thinking of you and to say how touched and grateful Pammy and I felt at all the affection and kindness you showed us during our happy time in India.

With warmest greetings,

Yours ever,
Edwina Mountbatten
of Burma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi, India

Dehra Dun
17 May 1949

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 18 April 1949 regarding our flying accident.

In a speech at Jaipur the very next day I called it a "variety entertainment." That expressed my mental approach to the whole incident, but at the same time I know with what anxiety and apprehensions the minds of so many friends and well-wishers of mine, among whom it is my privilege to count you and your husband, were filled. I hope I shall continue to deserve such unbounded affection and regard.

I have not yet heard from Lord Mountbatten. I am sure both of you have had the satisfaction of having made such a contribution to retaining India in the Commonwealth. As I told Anthony Eden¹ the short but momentous regime of both of you has made a tremendous change in the approach of an average Indian towards an average Britisher and our decision to continue in the Commonwealth is the greatest testimony of that change.

With best wishes to both of you and Pamela,

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lady Mountbatten of Burma
Villa Guardamangia
Pieta, Malta

New Delhi
31 March 1949

My dear Sardarji,

First of all, let me most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart congratulate you on the miraculous escape that you had on Tuesday. It only shows that God is great and is with us. At the same time, it also means that you cannot take risks of the

¹ Foreign Minister in Churchill's Cabinet; for some time British Prime Minister

I should be grateful if you could let me have your opinion about this proposal.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

VOLUNTARY MILITARY TRAINING FOR CIVILIANS

1. Whenever troops are called out in aid of civil power, they often have to disperse large crowds of people in cities. Amongst such crowds it has often been found that quite a large percentage are just "lookers-on" while the actual "disturbers of the peace" are possibly few and far between. The carrying out of this work by the Army and Police, i.e. maintaining of law and order would be considerably facilitated if the Indian masses were a little bit more disciplined than they are now.
2. One of the best means of instilling discipline in any body of men is by making them do ordinary military drill on the barrack square. Bodies of men made to march about, turn left or right or about, salute, halt, double etc., etc., on words of command given by a non-commissioned officer or an officer, produces an automatic and instinctive habit in such "drilled" people of obeying orders promptly. In the Army therefore the drill is regarded as a very essential part of the soldier's training to instil in him a spirit of implicit and prompt obedience of orders given him. I think this principle could be very effectively applied to the masses of our country.
3. I, therefore, [propose] to start voluntary classes, in the first instance for one hour a week, in certain selected military stations in India, for any civilians who may wish to be given simple military training on the barrack square. The method of doing this will be to select in consultation with the local police authorities a parade ground where civilian volunteers, between the ages of 18 and 35, will be permitted to come and congregate by a certain time once a week. After a quick medical inspection to see that no one is suffering from any contagious disease, such men would be organized into small squads of say 15 to 20 each, each squad will then be put under the command of a non-commissioned officer and groups of four such squads will be under a JCO and three JCOs group-squads, i.e. 12 squads will be under an officer. Each squad will then do 10 minutes of simple physical training, five minutes of rest, 20 minutes of squad-drill without rifles when they will be made to march in military formations, 5 minutes rest, then 20 minutes talk on hygiene and discipline in general.

New Delhi
4 April 1949

My dear Neogy,

I have now had further discussion with Sir V. T. Krishnamachari and subsequently with His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur. Sir V. T. is prepared to take up the chairmanship of the Fiscal Commission. He says, "It is work I like." I suggest that you may now get in touch with him direct in regard to this question.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
New Delhi

New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copy of a note which the Commander-in-Chief has sent about voluntary military training for civilians. I have also had a talk with the Commander-in-Chief on this subject. The proposal appeals to me. There is no cost involved and it would be worthwhile our experimenting with it for a few months at the military cantonments mentioned. We shall then know what the public response is and find out any possible defects in the system.

If this is successful, it might be extended to some other areas where the police might take it up. But I think it should be limited to the Army to begin with.

So far as the police is concerned, the provincial Governments would naturally have to agree. So far as the Army is concerned, this is not strictly necessary, though of course provincial Governments' co-operation should be sought.

I should be grateful if you could let me have your opinion about this proposal.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

VOLUNTARY MILITARY TRAINING FOR CIVILIANS

1. Whenever troops are called out in aid of civil power, they often have to disperse large crowds of people in cities. Amongst such crowds it has often been found that quite a large percentage are just "lookers-on" while the actual "disturbers of the peace" are possibly few and far between. The carrying out of this work by the Army and Police, i.e. maintaining of law and order would be considerably facilitated if the Indian masses were a little bit more disciplined than they are now.
2. One of the best means of instilling discipline in any body of men is by making them do ordinary military drill on the barrack square. Bodies of men made to march about, turn left or right or about, salute, halt, double etc., etc., on words of command given by a non-commissioned officer or an officer, produces an automatic and instinctive habit in such "drilled" people of obeying orders promptly. In the Army therefore the drill is regarded as a very essential part of the soldier's training to instil in him a spirit of implicit and prompt obedience of orders given him. I think this principle could be very effectively applied to the masses of our country.
3. I, therefore, [propose] to start voluntary classes, in the first instance for one hour a week, in certain selected military stations in India, for any civilians who may wish to be given simple military training on the barrack square. The method of doing this will be to select in consultation with the local police authorities a parade ground where civilian volunteers, between the ages of 18 and 35, will be permitted to come and congregate by a certain time once a week. After a quick medical inspection to see that no one is suffering from any contagious disease, such men would be organized into small squads of say 15 to 20 each, each squad will then be put under the command of a non-commissioned officer and groups of four such squads will be under a JCO and three JCOs group-squads, i.e. 12 squads will be under an officer. Each squad will then do 10 minutes of simple physical training, five minutes of rest, 20 minutes of squad-drill without rifles when they will be made to march in military formations, 5 minutes rest, then 20 minutes talk on sanitation, hygiene and discipline in general.

4. People voluntarily coming to attend these parades will not be given any money or clothes or refreshments of any kind. These parades will be, as stated, purely voluntary and the whole training will have to be carried on a "no-cost" basis to the State. These volunteers may wear what clothes they like. Each individual will be given 6 such parades, after which fresh squads will be taken.

5. To start with, this experiment will be carried out in Amritsar, Jullundur, Ambala, Delhi, Lucknow, Jhansi, Calcutta, Nagpur, Madras, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Poona, Bombay and Ahmedabad.

6. Whereas this training can be given in cities by the Army, it cannot give such training in the villages, where, I think, the police can undertake to impart such training to villagers. I think it will be a very good thing if both the Army and the Police undertake this training on a joint plan. After the first batch of volunteers has been trained and after seeing the results achieved, I will then decide to continue this training and extend it to many more stations in India so as to cover the whole country.

7. I propose to start this experiment on 15 May 1949.

K. M. Cariappa¹
General
Commander-in-Chief

12 April 1949

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New Delhi
14 April 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 14 April 1949 regarding voluntary military training for civilians.

I agree with you that the idea is a sound one and we may first make a start with the Army. We shall see what response it evokes and if it is encouraging we can extend it to other areas and also commend it to Provincial Governments for organising similar training with the help of the police.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ GOC-in-C, Western Command, 1947, the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army, 1949-53

New Delhi
2 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I got your telephone message this morning about the air [Transport] Licensing Board and judges' salaries. I am sorry you were inconvenienced by these matters suddenly appearing on the Cabinet agenda.

As regards judges' salaries, Ambedkar sent me a note for the Cabinet two days ago. I told him that I could not put it up before you had considered it fully. Soon after I got your note on the same subject. I therefore decided to put up both the notes before the Cabinet, but I informed Ambedkar that we would not discuss this matter at present, or at any rate come to a decision. The papers have therefore been circulated, but nothing more has been done. The next Cabinet meeting is on Tuesday, 7 June, at 12 noon. If you would care to write more fully on this subject, we shall circulate your views. Your telephone message has been circulated.

About the Air Licensing Board, most of us are of opinion that there should be an independent chairman as you have suggested. We do not think that a departmental man as chairman would be suitable. We have suggested therefore that someone else should be selected. The matter will come up again. The real difficulty is that the chairman has very little work to do and to employ a whole-time officer of that grade does seem rather a waste of time and money.

Apart from this, the whole question of the future of the air services was considered by some members of the cabinet yesterday. A serious situation has arisen, as you know, by the collapse of two or three or more companies. A large number of their Dakotas have been grounded and they would probably go to pieces, if not looked after. Their crews and trained technicians have also become unemployed. We have suggested to Defence to employ such as they need and to buy some of the Dakotas as a reserve. We have also called for an urgent meeting of the representatives of the air services that are functioning now.

It is not a very exhilarating experience. It is quite impossible for me to follow closely all that is happening. But whenever anything important comes up, I try to take part. We are reserving some important questions for next month, when you return here. Otherwise the progress is fairly good.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Dchra Dun
4 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 2 June 1949.

As regards judges' salaries, I have practically said what I had to say. You yourself have had a detailed talk with the Chief Justice of India and will no doubt be able to defend my proposals when they come up before the Cabinet. I was thinking, however, that it might be a good thing to circulate to the Cabinet the schedule which was attached to the Chief Justice's letter. That contains his proposals in regard to salaries, etc. If you agree you can ask Pai¹ to get into touch with Mr. Gaynor, Deputy Secretary in the Home Ministry, who has charge of the file. He would be able to have copies of the schedule made, and the Cabinet Secretariat can then circulate it. Only the schedule, and not the covering letter, should be circulated.

About the Air Licensing Board, I am glad that you decided in favour of an independent chairman. I have no doubt that the decision is the right one.

I am quite perturbed over the condition of the air services as revealed in the note circulated, and I agree with the decisions taken at the conference. We cannot obviously let the present experience and resources of the companies go waste, merely because they have had to go into liquidation. We have got, however, to define our attitude very clearly and settle our line of policy. I had suggested, some months ago when the question of paying

¹ A. V. Pai: ICS; Agent of Government of India in Ceylon, 1936-40; Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister, 1948-50; Secretary, Ministry of Communications, 1950-53; Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1953-58; Secretary to Union President

off the INA [Indian National Airways] was raised, that the best course would be either to have a corporation like BOAC or to nationalize the service. We are not prepared for the latter, but I think it should be possible to push through the former. After all, we have recognised corporations as the best means of managing the steamship business. I do not see why we cannot do the same thing with the air services. One thing that is likely to help us in this scheme would be that, while we would practically be nationalizing the concerns, the management would be in the hands of firms of repute. We can have close supervision and prevent things from going wrong. We can thus have the advantages of commercial management and State control over business enterprise.

Yes, I was quite upset over the news that appeared in the papers regarding the International Court of Justice sending observers. It is quite possible that the judge concerned is acting in his 'private capacity', just as the Defence Secretary of Pakistan and their Military Financial Adviser acted in their private capacities in facilitating Sydney Cotton's¹ operations to Hyderabad. We have got to take a firm line, otherwise, I am afraid, we shall be putting ourselves in the wrong with the people of these French Settlements. I wonder if you have noticed in today's papers that we are being blamed for betraying the cause of Indians in Goa.

As regards Attlee's letter to you, if I may suggest, you might send the draft reply to me before despatching it to London. It is possible I may be able to offer some useful suggestions which you could consider. *The problem is difficult; on the one side, we have undoubtedly Hong Kong's imperialist history; on the other hand, we have to reckon with the growing Communist menace in China. If Hong Kong is to be a bastion against Communism, there is something to be said for reinforcing it, but if it is merely going to be an imperialist domain, then it is obvious we can have nothing to do with it. We have also to realise that India is the only country which can withstand Communist expansion in Asia. At the same time, it is obvious that we cannot do it alone; if we have to safeguard our frontiers against Communist infiltration and encroachments, we shall have to depend on outside sympathy and support. I should not, therefore, like to send a reply to Attlee which he might misconstrue or which might hurt his feelings. Howsoever much, therefore, we may abhor the past imperialist history of Hong Kong, we have to bear in mind the practical considerations of today*

¹ Notorious gun-runner who allegedly smuggled arms into Hyderabad

and evolve a line of approach which, while not compromising our stand against imperialism, would do full justice to those practical considerations.

I entirely endorse your action in sending a company of troops to Gangtok in Sikkim. We have to strengthen our position in Sikkim as well as in Tibet. The farther we keep away the Communist forces, the better. Tibet has long been detached from China. I anticipate that, as soon as Communists have established themselves in the rest of China, they will try to destroy its autonomous existence. You have to consider carefully your policy towards Tibet in such circumstances and prepare from now for that eventuality.

I can quite understand your feelings in regard to the Constituent Assembly debates. I try to follow them through the papers as much as I can, but frankly speaking, most of it seems to me to be irrelevant and beside the point. Only if we could control some of these persistent speakers, our pace would be quicker.

The Maharaja of Travancore is coming here tomorrow. Menon tells me that the object of his visit is to persuade me to go to Travancore on 1 July to inaugurate the new Union. I am doubtful whether it would be possible for me to go. You yourself would be going away to Leh from 3 to 9 July, and I should not like to be so far away from Delhi before your departure to and during your absence in Leh.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
5 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 4 June. About judges' salaries, I shall have the schedule, you refer to, which the Chief Justice of India sent to us, circulated to the members of the Cabinet. I have got a copy of it with me.

The reply to Atlee about Hong Kong has already been sent and I suppose you have seen it. I shall make sure that it is being sent to you.

The British are in a very odd position in regard to China. On the one hand they do not wish to recognize the new Government quickly. On the other hand there are certain aspects of the question which induce them to recognize it. Of course, for the present, the question of recognition has not arisen, because no organized Central Government has been even announced. The old Nationalist Government is rapidly fading out and it would be difficult for it to be recognized for long. After that, another difficulty will arise as to who should represent China on the Security Council of the UN. If nobody represents it, then, constitutionally speaking, the Security Council is not properly constituted, as one of its permanent members is missing. Meanwhile the Communists in China are behaving very correctly towards the foreigners and even business is continuing to some extent.

I do not understand what we are expected to do in Goa and any criticism of our action there is singularly inept. Various happenings in regard to Goa—firstly Lohia's movement and secondly, the agitation for a Maharashtra province including Goa—have rather queered our pitch. People seem to forget that a large part of Goa is Catholic by religion and has got certain vested interests in the present regime. They are thoroughly frightened by the Maharashtra agitation. I rather doubt what the result of a plebiscite in Goa would be. Some of our newspapers and some of our legislators have got into the habit of talking about strong action being taken all over the world, without either understanding the question or realising the consequences.

I shall put your view-point in regard to the air services before the Cabinet.

I think it would be unwise for you to go to Travancore early in July, especially as I shall be away for a number of days in Ladakh. Important developments are taking place from day to day and one of us should be near at hand.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Yesterday, in the Cabinet, your note on the proposal of the reconstitution of the Air Transport Licensing Board was read out and, as a result, I was asked to put forward new proposals.

I have not been able to appreciate the necessity of having a judicial officer as chairman of the Air Transport Licensing Board. A large number of term licences have been issued. They were issued when we had a retired High Court judge as chairman. Some provisional licences have yet to be finalized, but there are no two claimants for those lines and, therefore, the issue of licences will not need an officer with judicial training.

I do not know why Mr. Ali Zaheer thought of putting in a judicial officer as chairman of the Board or why a Board, independent of the Department, was considered necessary. All that the Board is now required to do is to approve enhancement or reduction in the fare and freight rates or to allow any change in time-table and frequencies in services. That is not a sort of work which requires judicial experience.

If you think a judicial officer is necessary whenever there is the possibility of more than one party putting forward rival claims, I am afraid, we will have to appoint a judicial tribunal for every work that we have to do. We will have to appoint a judicial tribunal to look into the applications for import or export permits, for establishing new industries etc. But if this heavy responsibility can be discharged impartially by the Secretaries or the Deputy Secretaries of the Commerce or Industries Department, why cannot the Department deal with the question of issue of air licences?

You yourself are of the opinion that licences have not in the past been issued properly and that while some air services have been shown favour, others have suffered. I do not agree with this view, but I would like you to know that these licences were issued by a Board with an independent Chairman and with two independent Members.

As was mentioned in the Summary for the Cabinet, the Economy Committee had recommended the abolition of the Board. When the members of the Departmental Standing Advisory Committee were pressing for the acceptance of this recommendation, I resisted this proposal but assured them that the Board would be reconstituted and would consist entirely of Government officers. I do not see any point in requesting an officer of another department to preside over the Board. I still think that the proposal that the Ministry had sent to the Cabinet was most suited, but if you think the question should be reconsidered, I will place your suggestions before the Standing Advisory Committee and will place the reaction before the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
8 June 1949

My dear Rafi,

Thank you for your letter of 3 June 1949 regarding the reconstitution of the Air Transport Licensing Board.

I notice from the minutes of the Cabinet meeting that it is now for you to examine the matter and put up proposals to the Cabinet for an independent chairman of the Licensing Board. There is no emphasis anywhere, either in my minutes or in the Cabinet decision, on a judicial officer; so long as you can suggest an independent chairman, it will meet with the directions of the Cabinet.

You have referred to certain acts of omission and commission in the past that have been perpetrated in the Board, even though the chairman was independent and the members were also independent. I am sure you will appreciate that it will not be correct to condemn an institution because of any personal defects.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Minister for Communications
New Delhi

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhaiji,

I pray that you are having rest and peace there so that you come back to us refreshed.

We miss you here. We could not know your mind if you like the changes in the Constitution Act such as nominated Governors or the State Assemblies to determine the procedure of election to the upper houses.

Your health and your rest is far more important to the nation.

I enclose copy of a letter I have written to the Premier. I hope you will give thought to it so that we utilize these state buildings for the use of Government of India offices.

With my warm, warm respects,

Yours sincerely,
B. Das¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dchra Dun

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM MR. B. DAS'S LETTER TO PANDIT NEHRU
DATED 3 JUNE 1949

With the merger of Bhopal State the process of integration of the States to India is almost complete. It is high time that you and Sardar Patel examine which of the State capitals can accommodate various attached offices of the Government of India without further investment of capital in building and construction work.

If I be permitted to make concrete suggestions, I suggest that the Department of Archaeology can be shifted either to Gwalior or Baroda. The RIAF Headquarters can be shifted to Jodhpur and I have already suggested in my note that the Naval Headquarters can be transferred either to Vizagapatam or a West India port, not necessarily Bombay.

¹ Member, Central Assembly; Chairman, Public Accounts Committee

Unless your personal attention is given at this very early stage to this issue, most of the accommodations—palaces and other spare buildings—now available in the States will be utilized for local requirements, whereas the Centre will have to spend a huge amount of money in building new cities and quarters for staff to accommodate the ever-growing development staff of the Government. Sjt. Gadgil has already announced transfer of the C WING, CEC and the Govt of India Press to Nasik.

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Dehra Dun
4 June 1949

My dear Das,

Thank you for your letter of 3 June 1949.

I myself feel unhappy that I have to be away from Delhi when such momentous decisions are being taken, but then my health and the doctor's advice were decisive.

We have already been thinking of dispersing some of our offices. You can get in touch with Gadgil, who will tell you what the present position is.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. Das, MCA
New Delhi

CHAPTER V
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

127

New Delhi
25 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Please read these papers about the Banaras Hindu University. Maulana Azad¹ seems to be keen on having an enquiry. This is the first I hear of financial irregularities. As for (ii) and (iii) of his letter dated 23 April, anything can be brought under these heads and I do not know how an enquiry will help. It will only lead to allegations of all kinds being reduced to writing. The main point is discipline of students which now seems to have receded into the background in Maulana's letter.

I am sure you will be able to give some advice either to Maulana Azad or to me.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
26 April 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 25 April regarding the Banaras Hindu University.

I entirely share your doubts about the enquiry suggested; in fact, I think that such an enquiry would harm the university and will defeat the very object which we all have in view.

¹ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Leading Muslim divine; staunch nationalist from Khilafat days; Congress President, 1939-46; member, CA; Education Minister in Nehru Cabinet

The irregularities etc. about which the enquiry will be held relate to the past, i.e. during the period when Dr. Amarnath Jha, Dr. Radhakrishnan¹ and others were Vice-Chancellors. Whatever defects will be noticed will be nailed at their doors. Along with them the present Vice-Chancellor may also share the blame, but the fact remains that they will not escape. I do not know about the state of discipline in the university, but I doubt if other universities can point to a clean record. You know what is happening in Delhi and what has happened in Lucknow and Allahabad. Public enquiry of this kind will, if anything, worsen the financial situation of the university. Those who might be prepared to give donations will withhold their hands. Others who might be giving annual donations may postpone them. The result may be a complete financial breakdown.

If the object is to bring out other defects in the administration of the university, I am doubtful if this is the right way of approaching the matter. As you say, all kinds of allegations will be reduced to writing and the enquiry would be the forum of mutual mud-slinging. We, as Government, will hardly be able to come out of it without criticism of some sort. To me, by far the best procedure would seem to be to ask the Vice-Chancellor for an explanation of such defects as may have been noticed. Government can then think of how to dispose of the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Shri C. Rajagopalachari

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New Delhi
7 June 1949

My dear Maulana Sahib,

I place below a letter dated 30 May 1949 from Dr. Tara Chand² about the appointment of a committee to look into the working of the *Banaras Hindu University*, and its enclosure. I assume you have already been consulted in the matter.

¹ Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1939-48; Ambassador to Russia, 1948-52; Vice-President, Indian Republic, 1952 and 1957; President, Indian Republic, 1962-67

² Secretary and Adviser, Union Ministry of Education, 1948-51, Ambassador to Iran, 1951-56

Section 19 of the Banaras University Act, 1915, which confers certain emergency powers on the Central Government and prescribes steps and conditions therefor is no bar to the appointment of a committee for the purpose in view. What is intended now is that a thorough examination of the working of the university should be undertaken with a view to promoting necessary amendments in the Act and for more efficient management of the institution. A Government resolution constituting the committee, on the lines of the enclosed draft, should, I think, suffice, and if you see no objection, I could send it to the Prime Minister as Lord Rector of the university for securing the approval of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Minister for Education

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
30 May 1949

Dear Shri Rajagopalachariji,

I am enclosing a note concerning the appointment of a committee to investigate the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University with a view to suggesting what changes (if any) may be made in the Act, statutes and regulations of the university and for the improvement of the working of the university.

I am not sure whether the fourth paragraph regarding the Universities Commission and the first three lines of the fifth paragraph should be included in this.

According to the Act of the Banaras Hindu University, Section 19 vests certain emergency powers in the Governor-General in Council. I am enclosing a copy of the Section. The procedure laid down seems to require that the Governor-General in Council should first indicate to the Council the matter in regard to which he desires explanation and if the Council either fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed or offers an unsatisfactory explanation, then he may issue such instructions as appear to him to be necessary. I do not know whether the Government can without following this procedure straightaway appoint a committee. I hope you will kindly look into this matter and advise as to what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
Tara Chand

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari

NOTE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
AFFAIRS OF THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

The Banaras Hindu University Act was passed in 1915. It was amended in minor respects in 1922 and 1930. Since then the authorities of the university have drawn the attention of the Government of India from time to time to its pressing needs, and the time has come to examine closely the working of the Act and the administration of the university with a view to adapting the constitution thereof to present-day conditions and to attain a more efficient management of this, one of the most important universities in India and one which is the direct responsibility of the Central Government. It has therefore become necessary to appoint a small committee consisting of the following members to examine the working of the university:

Shri Rustom Masani¹

Bakshi Tek Chand

Dr. C. R. Reddi, and

The Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University

The committee will generally review the work of the Banaras University and to that end hear such evidence as they deem necessary and scrutinise any paper or document which they consider relevant and useful. The committee will, in particular, consider

- (a) how the administrative machinery of the university has functioned;
- (b) how the finances of the university have been managed, what are its sources of income and its expenditure;
- (c) how the standards of teaching, examination and discipline have been maintained, whether the university should continue Intermediate classes and maintain all the present departments and subjects; and
- (d) how the affairs of the University have been conducted in furtherance of the objects and purposes of the university.

The committee will also enquire into the relations of the university with the provincial and Central Governments and examine its present needs and its requirements in the immediate future.

The committee will, after considering all the material before it, recommend such changes in the Banaras University Act, 1915, or in the statutes and regulations made thereunder as they deem necessary and such measures for improvement in the structure and working of the university as in their opinion should immediately be undertaken.

¹ Sir Rustom Pestonji Masani: Former Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University

SECTION 19 OF THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY ACT XVI OF 1915

19.(1) If, at any time, the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that special reasons exist which make the removal of any member of the teaching staff desirable in the interest of the University, or that, as a special measure, the appointment of a certain examiner or examiners to report to him is desirable to maintain the standard of University examinations, or that the scale of staff of the University is inadequate, or that in any other respect the affairs of the University are not managed in the furtherance of the objects and purposes of University or in accordance with this Act and the Statutes and Regulations, he may indicate to the Council any matter in regard to which he desires explanation, and call upon that body to offer such explanation as it may desire to offer, with any proposals which it may desire to make, within such time as he may prescribe.

(2) If the Council fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed, or offers an explanation or makes proposals which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, is or are unsatisfactory, the Governor-General in Council may issue such instructions as appear to him to be necessary and desirable in the circumstances of the case, and the Court shall give effect to such instructions.

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Srinagar
18 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I thank you for your letter of 7 June 1949. Dr. Tara Chand had written to me to say that he had had a talk with you and Pandit Nehru regarding the Hindu University and it had been agreed that a three-man Committee might be formed in order to go into the working, administrative as well as educational, of the university. I had agreed to this and thought that the proposed committee consisting of Rustom Masani, Bakshi Tek Chand and C. R. Reddy would prove useful for the work. But, from the draft resolution which you have sent with your letter it appears it has now been proposed to include the Vice-Chancellor of the university into this committee. I feel that if the present Vice-Chancellor of the university was included in it, it would not be regarded by many as desirable and whoever is conversant with the present affairs of the university would take very lightly the formation of such a committee.

I am, therefore, of the opinion that either no committee may be formed for the present or if one was to be formed in the interests of the university, the present Vice-Chancellor should have no place on it.

I intend to stay here till the end of this month and hope to be in Delhi some time during the first week of July.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

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20 June 1949

My dear Maulana Sahib,

I thank you for your letter of 18 June about the Banaras Hindu University. I think when you return we shall one day personally discuss the question and settle matters.

I am going to Simla tonight and shall return to Delhi on 1 July.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Srinagar

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New Delhi
15 [16?] June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copies of correspondence between me, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru about the Banaras Hindu University.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE I

Government House
New Delhi
15 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 June 1949 enclosing a copy of Maulana Azad's letter to you dated 9 June 1949.

Maulana's letter to you must have crossed my letter to him dated 7 June 1949 a copy of which I attach, together with a copy of the draft resolution enclosed therewith. As you will observe from that letter, I have expressed my agreement as "Lord Rector" of the Banaras Hindu University to the appointment of the proposed committee to examine the working of the university with a view to suggesting necessary amendments in the Banaras Hindu University Act, 1915. You will note that I have suggested in my draft that the Vice-Chancellor of the university may also be in the committee. This I feel would be the normal thing to do in any committee for suggesting changes in the working of a university.

As to the procedure for constituting the committee, I am unable to agree with the suggestion contained in the concluding sentence of Maulana's letter to you that the committee should be appointed by the Chancellor (at present His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir) or the Rector (there is no such office in the University).^{*} As eventually Central legislation has to be undertaken, it seems to me that the more appropriate course would be for the Government of India to appoint the committee by a resolution issued by the Ministry of Education. I leave it to you to decide whether to mention the matter at a meeting of the Cabinet, but it would be necessary to consult the Finance Ministry as a certain amount of expenditure will be involved.

I am sending copies of the correspondence to Vallabhbhai.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister

ENCLOSURE II

New Delhi
16 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June about the appointment of a committee for the Banaras Hindu University.

When Maulana suggested the appointment of such a committee, I had thought that it was a relatively simple affair, the purpose being to enquire into the general conduct of affairs in the university and more especially the charges that have been made against the present Vice-Chancellor (although these matters might not have been mentioned in the terms of appointment). What you suggest is something much bigger and wider and is in fact a complete survey of university affairs with a view to changing the Act and overhauling all the existing machinery. That will take a long time and may not even touch upon the present difficulty.

Also your suggestion that the Vice-Chancellor should be on this committee, though good from the larger point of view, will not at all be helpful in the present context.

It has to be remembered that Govind Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor, has himself asked for an enquiry on several occasions into the charges made against him. Why should we not take him at his word? The Education Ministry can appoint a committee of three persons (the persons named in your draft resolution minus the Vice-Chancellor) with limited terms of reference. Either the Vice-Chancellor accepts this or he does not. If he accepts this, well and good; if he does not, then he puts himself somewhat in the wrong and goes back on his own undertaking. We can then consider what other form of enquiry might be undertaken.

I spoke to Vallabhbhai on the telephone this morning and mentioned this matter. I understood from him that he had written to you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India

Copy to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE III

New Delhi
16 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have just read your letter of 16 June 1949 about the Banaras Hindu University and I think I should explain at some length what has happened.

The original proposal of Dr. Tara Chand was that we should order an enquiry into the present state of things in the Banaras Hindu University, that is to say, an enquiry over Govind Malaviyaji's administration. I had my doubts as to the effects of such a step and whether it might not make matters worse instead of better. I explained my doubts to Dr. Tara Chand and also wrote to Maulana Sahib. I communicated also with Vallabhbhai who replied to me on 26 April as per copy enclosed. The matter rested there. On 28 May Dr. Tara Chand again called on me and discussed the position. I suggested that instead of an enquiry against the present Vice-Chancellor, it may be useful, if Maulana Sahib desired an enquiry, to appoint a committee with larger terms of reference with a view to amending the Banaras Hindu University Act. Dr. Tara Chand thereupon sent me his letter of 30 May enclosing a note by his Ministry, a copy of which I enclose.

I noticed in these discussions that section 19 of the Banaras Hindu University Act had been misunderstood and that the reference in the section to the Governor-General had not been correctly appreciated. Any emergency steps by way of administrative orders should be taken by the Government of India and not by the Governor-General in his capacity as Lord Rector.

After considering Dr. Tara Chand's fresh proposal I wrote to Maulana Sahib my letter of 7 June 1949, a copy of which I have sent you with my letter of 15 June 1949 when I got your letter of 13 June.

My suggestion that the scope of the enquiry should cover larger ground is therefore in accordance with Dr. Tara Chand's own final proposal and meets Vallabhbhai's and my own doubts as to the kind of enquiry originally proposed. It is now for you, Vallabhbhai and Maulana Sahib to decide as to what course to follow. My own view is that if the Minister of Education feels strongly that there should be an enquiry, it should be an enquiry with a view to amending the Act and not to review Govind Malaviyaji's administration over a short period. If the Education Minister can be induced to drop the idea of an enquiry altogether I have no objection.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Vallabhbhai in reply to a letter from him to me dated 15 June in which he desires to know what the position is so that he may reply to you.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Maulana Azad about the Hindu University. I think the proposal to appoint a three-man committee is a good one and the three names suggested might suit. Masani, of course, is the elder Masani who was the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University.

I do not think the matter need be put up before the Cabinet. But perhaps you could inform Maulana of your views on the subject. I enclose a copy of my reply to him.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

Camp "Chashm-e-Shahi"
Srinagar
9 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Please refer to your letter of 31 May about the selection of nurses for overseas scholarships. I agree with you that for the present the work of the selection of nurses may be left with the Ministry of Health. I have issued necessary instructions to the Joint Secretary in this connection.

Dr. Tara Chand sent me a summary of the conversation he had with you and Rajaji regarding the Hindu University. There is no doubt that the affairs of this university have been deteriorating and if no steps were taken at an early date to remedy the defects, they might get worse and much of the

dirty linen might be washed in public. The question for decision all along had been when action should be taken and in what form. I considered the matter from its various aspects and had reached the conclusion that we should wait for the report of the University Commission which, as you know, has particularly been asked to look into the working of the three universities under the control of the Central Government and submit its report after taking all the relevant factors into consideration. Therefore, I thought it would be better if we had this report before us and in the light of which action could be taken.

Dr. Tara Chand, however, informs me that Rajaji and you have agreed to the formation of a three-man committee which will submit its report after examining the general administrative and educational condition of the university. The terms of reference for the committee will be in general and no reference to the Vice-Chancellor will be made. The names of Masani, Tek Chand [and] Reddy have been suggested for the committee. I agree with all this. I now feel that a detailed report from this committee will help us to consider in its true perspective the report which will be submitted by the University Commission. If the committee is established soon and starts its work immediately on its establishment, it is hoped it will be able to submit its report to Government by the end of September next.

The other consideration which has weighed with me in coming to the above agreement is that there is a fear that after the summer vacations are over the student community of the University, who were found restless before the vacations started, might resort to doing some unpleasant things. The formation of the committee will, in all probability, have a good effect on the students and stop them from taking things into their own hands.

I have sent a note about the committee to Dr. Tara Chand and my approval for its formation. If you feel that this note should be submitted to the Cabinet, it will be sent to the Cabinet Secretariat. Personally I do not think there is any need for its being submitted to the Cabinet. If the latter be the case, the Education Ministry will write to the Chancellor or the Rector to appoint a committee as above.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

ENCLOSURE II

New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Maulana,

Your letter of 9 June.

I think it will be desirable to have a three-man committee as you have suggested. The names mentioned in your letter are Masani, Tek Chand and Reddy. I presume you mean the elder Masani, who was Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University. I mention this, as I think the younger Masani would not be suitable.

I do not think this matter need be put up before the Cabinet. But I think that the Governor-General and Sardar Patel should be informed of it, as they have taken interest in the Hindu University affairs. I am writing to both of them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

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Dehra Dun
19 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 June 1949 about the Banaras Hindu University. I am sorry for the delay in replying, which was due to the fact that I wanted to have all the material from Rajaji. As he has written to you, he has sent me the whole correspondence.

I have carefully gone through the matter and entirely agree with the advice which he has tendered to you. I do not think we can single out just one regime for enquiry. From what I know, it seems that some other regimes in the past have been also to blame. I would, therefore, advise that we avoid any enquiry into personal direction of the affairs of the university and should have a general enquiry which Rajaji suggests. It

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would be much easier to justify that than the particular enquiry to which Dr. Tara Chand referred.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In continuation of my letter to you of 16 June 1949 about the Banaras Hindu University I enclose a copy of a letter dated 17 June 1949 which Jawaharlalji has written to Maulana Sahib.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
17 June 1949

My dear Maulana,

I have received letters from the Governor-General about the proposed enquiry into the Banaras Hindu University. After reading part of the correspondence, I feel a little confused. However, I think that it probably will be desirable to have an enquiry into the university affairs generally rather than to limit it to particular complaints.

I suppose you will be coming back to Delhi fairly soon. If so, the matter can be discussed here and finalized.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

Dehra Dun
15 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I have received a letter from Jawaharlal about an enquiry committee into the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University. So far I was under the impression that you did not like the idea of any enquiry, but Dr. Tara Chand has told Maulana Sahib that you were in favour of an enquiry. I should be glad if you would kindly let me know what the position is before I reply to Jawaharlal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

New Delhi
16 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of 15 June 1949 about the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University. Your letter has evidently crossed my letter of 15 June 1949 on the same subject. I have also received a letter from Jawaharlalji dated 16 June and my reply to him will explain exactly what the position is.

Dr. Tara Chand (and apparently Maulana Sahib was in agreement with him) pressed me again for an enquiry committee and I explained to him that I did not like the idea of an enquiry but if one was still desired, it should be with a view to amending the Act and should be by a resolution of the Government of India.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Dehra Dun
19 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 16 June 1949.

I have now seen all the correspondence regarding the Banaras Hindu University, and I entirely agree with you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

New Delhi
20 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 19 June about the Banaras Hindu University. I am sending a copy of this letter of yours to Jawaharlalji so that he may know your mind fully in this connection.

Maulana Sahib has however written to me the enclosed letter, in which it looks as if he understands this committee to be a committee of enquiry against the present Vice-Chancellor which is just what you and I wish to avoid. He says that the present Vice-Chancellor should not be in the committee although he approves of the terms of reference as I have drafted. The difference now is reduced to the narrow point whether the present Vice-Chancellor should be in this committee which is to consider changes in the Banaras Hindu University's Act. I think we can convince Jawaharlalji that it would be proper to include the de facto Vice-Chancellor at the time when the enquiry is held and probably also Maulana will agree. For the time being the matter may rest postponed till we meet Maulana in person.

I am leaving for Simla tonight and will return to Delhi on 1 July. As you have made no reference to your health, I presume you are quite well now.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

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Dehra Dun
21 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 20 June 1949.

I agree that the matter may rest where it is until Maulana Sahib returns.

My health is rather indifferent at present, though it is somewhat better than a week ago. My intestinal trouble is somehow persisting. I hope you will enjoy your trip to Simla.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

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Simla
24 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 21 June 1949. Kindly read the enclosed copy of my further letter to Jawaharlalji about the Banaras Hindu University.

I am not happy to hear the news you have given about your health. But I hope it will somehow improve in spite of the strain you seem determined to put upon it.

I have just been reading the interesting communication from Kishorilalji¹ which you have seen. I have not yet finished reading it.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala: Exponent of Gandhian philosophy; editor, Harijan papers; member, Zakir Hussain Committee on Basic Education

ENCLOSURES

New Delhi
21 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 20 June on the Banaras Hindu University and the papers enclosed. I have now come round to your view about this matter except for one thing. I still do not think that the de facto Vice-Chancellor should be a member of the committee of enquiry.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

Copy to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Governor-General's Camp
Simla
24 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your letter dated 21 June 1949 about the Banaras Hindu University. I met Dr. Zakir Hussain¹ here and have casually learnt from him that the University Commission will bring its Report out in about a month's time and that the Report will deal, among other things, with proposals for the better administration of the three Central universities, including Banaras. This also has to be taken into account when dealing with the Education Ministry's present proposal.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

¹ Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia, 1926-53; Vice-Chancellor of Muslim University of Aligarh; Governor of Bihar, 1957-62; Vice-President of Indian Union, 1962-67; President of Indian Union, 1967-69

New Delhi
20/21 July 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Maulana saw me this morning and told me that you had agreed to his proposal regarding the committee of enquiry and to the omission of Govind Malaviya. I had accepted your proposals and am, therefore, surprised to know that you had modified your views; but if you have done so, please let me know.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

-His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

New Delhi
23 July 1949

My dear Maulana Sahib,

With reference to the discussion we had the other day on Banaras Hindu University, Rajaji tells me that he has not agreed to your proposals and has, in fact, pressed his original position. I feel myself that Rajaji's proposals were the best in the circumstances and would again ask you to reconsider whether those proposals should not be accepted.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Education Ministry has not done with the Banaras University question yet! The University Commission have now sent a confidential note on the Banaras University which Maulana Sahib has sent to me for consideration. I am enclosing a copy of the note as also a copy of Maulana Sahib's letter. Charges have been made in the confidential note and the Commission have recommended that those charges should be enquired into.

What would you advise me to do in view of our previous discussions and conclusion?

I hope you are now better.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp Bombay

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
12 August 1949

My dear Rajaji,

As you had advised me, I asked the Chairman of the University Education Commission to let me have an advance copy of the Commission's report on the Central Universities. He has sent me two copies of the Chapter concerned. I am sending one copy to you; the other I have kept with me.

I enclose herewith a 'Confidential' note by the Commission on the Banaras Hindu University. The two notes will help you to have a clear picture how things stand in this university.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

His Excellency Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

EXTRACTS FROM NOTE BY THE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION
COMMISSION

The discipline of the university for some months past has been unfortunate.

The report of the officer of the Ministry of Finance deputed to scrutinize the accounts has pointed out many irregularities and asked for radical changes in financial management, etc.

There is a sense of insecurity and nervousness on the part of the teachers.

The working of the university bodies like the Court, the Council, and the Syndicate, has not perhaps been on sound or academic lines.

There have been complaints about victimisation of teachers and students.

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Bombay

31 August 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 26 August 1949 regarding the Banaras University.

Frankly speaking, I do not like the periodic attempts to resuscitate this question at all. The University Commission Report discloses nothing new. Except in regard to certain appointments, it is vague and indefinite. Even in regard to the appointments, apparently the fault is due, if at all, to the appointment board; otherwise, the complaints referred to therein are just the sort of allegations of which we have been hearing so often. There are also some misstatements. There were no demonstrations when I went there. Whether there was any when you or Jawaharlal went there, I do not know. To me, the whole thing smacks of a sort of a vendetta against the present Vice-Chancellor on the part of some interested persons. I feel strongly that we should resist this retributive spirit.

The allegations made cover cases of appointments, discipline, finances and some vague complaints of a serious nature from some teachers and students of the Women's College. There are also general complaints regarding a sense of insecurity and nervousness on the working of university bodies. I am sure the administration of the university could not have so suddenly deteriorated within the last six or seven months. As regards the past, the Vice-Chancellors of the time cannot obviously escape

the blame, even if it might be said that the present Vice-Chancellor, as Pro-Vice-Chancellor, had something to do with it.

The state of discipline is bad almost in every university. We have to bear in mind that only two years ago it was difficult for Hindus to pass through the Aligarh station without meeting some sort of a challenge from the local students, if they dared get involved in a dispute with them. We have also to remember that only two months ago the students of that university perpetrated fairly large-scale arson and riot outside the university premises. Thank God that we cannot ascribe any such incident to the students of Banaras University. In Lucknow as well as in Allahabad agitations against the university authorities are not unknown; nor are they of any remote date.

As regards the finances, we have already dealt with this matter and I do not see any reason for being called upon to reconsider it.

I would certainly regard any victimisation of witnesses before the University Commission as serious, but for this purpose it is not necessary to appoint any committee of enquiry. The Education Ministry must get the details and ask the Vice-Chancellor for a report. If there are reasons to believe that there has been any improper conduct, we can deal with the matter.

In these circumstances, my own view remains as it was before. If there is to be a general enquiry into the working of the universities, it can be done, provided that the Vice-Chancellor is a member of the committee of enquiry. If, however, there is to be a specific enquiry regarding certain allegations against the Vice-Chancellor, it should be treated as such and you know my views in regard to that matter. I see no reason to change those views.

I am now feeling much better. Yesterday I got an attack of coryza, the type of thing which I usually get during the hot weather. Otherwise, there is nothing which should cause you or any friend any worry. My ill-health has ceased to cause me any worry, but some developments in Delhi, of which you are probably aware, are worrying me more than anything else. It is those developments that make me sick of my absence from Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

Patiala
3 May 1949

My dear Shankar,

When I met Hon'ble Sardar Patel on 23 April I mentioned to him about the case of Srivastava,¹ our former DCS [Director, Civil Supplies]. I apprised him that several high-placed persons had approached us on his behalf, and this included even some prominent Congress members. The Sardar desired that we should get at the real truth and find out why all these people took interest in Srivastava. I suggest that we appoint some clever officer to be on the scent, and the GOI [Government of India] similarly appoint its own officer. They will both work in collaboration with each other and report the result of their enquiries. If the Sardar approves of it, I will issue orders at this end, and direct the officer I appoint to contact you at Delhi.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Gyan Singh Rarewala²

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
Private Secretary to
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

New Delhi
4 May 1949

My dear Sardar Gyan Singh,

Thank you for your letter dated 3 May 1949.

Sardar approves of the idea of having a joint enquiry. If

¹ Sir J. P. Srivastava: *Inspectorial* of I.P., Food Member, Central Government before Independence

² Chief Minister, PEPFU; Minister, Government of Punjab

you will ask your officer to come and see me I will put him in touch with our officer here.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Sardar Gyan Singh Rarewala
Prime Minister
Patiala & East Punjab States Union
Patiala

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New Delhi
4 May 1949

My dear Bombawale,

There is a departmental enquiry at present pending against Mr. Srivastava of the Food Ministry who was formerly Deputy Director of Rationing in Delhi and who was subsequently posted as Director of Civil Supplies, Patiala. The allegation is that Mr. Srivastava gave permission for the export of large quantities of Pearl Barley unauthorisedly. When the Premier of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union was here H.M. discussed the case with him and suggested to him that we should try to locate the persons who profited out of this transaction. The Premier has now written to H.M. to say that he is prepared to nominate some Intelligence officer of the Union for this purpose and would like the Government of India to nominate an officer of their own so that there may be a joint enquiry. H.M. thinks that such a joint enquiry should be held. I have written to the Premier approving of this idea and have asked him to send the officer to contact me and I shall then refer him to you. In the meantime, if you wish to familiarise yourself with facts, you may approach the States Ministry and see their file.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

T. A. Bombawale, Esq., IP
Inspector-General
Special Police Establishment
New Delhi

New Delhi
18 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

There were several amendments to the [Government of India Act (Amendment)] Bill proposed by various members. They were all discussed in the party-meeting yesterday and after a good deal of discussion the amendments were disapproved by the party. In the party meeting the main line of criticism was that more power is sought to be given to the executive and to that extent the Constituent Assembly, the sovereign legislative body, was being deprived of its powers. Secondly, by making the question relating to the custody of persons detained under the Dominion law a purely and exclusively federal subject, the Centre was taking more and more power for itself. This criticism was answered by me and also by Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Munshi. The result was that the party disapproved of the amendments.

This morning the Bill was introduced, considered and passed. Two speeches were made—one by Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and the other by Thakurdas Bhargava¹ repeating what they said in the party meeting. My answer was brief stating that the Bill was very simple and did not justify such discussion as no big principle was involved. In any case, it was only an arrangement for a period intervening between now and the coming into operation of the new Constitution. The Bill was passed.

I am also sending herewith a typed copy of a note. Similar copies were distributed in the Constitution House on a large scale. The injured person was brought in a car and was paraded in the lobby of Constitution House by certain persons. I feel that this has been done to evoke unfavourable comments for the States Ministry. In fact comments to that effect were made by certain persons. When Panditji arrived he saw the man and immediately ordered that he should be removed to hospital. This course was suggested by me also earlier, but after Pattabhi said that MCAs should see how things were moving in the Punjab States. This is for your information. More when we meet.

¹ Congress leader of Punjab; member, Central Legislative Assembly

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
19 May 1949

My dear Kakasaheb,

Thank you for your letter dated 18 May 1949.

I am grateful to you for the manner in which you could push through the Government of India Act (Amendment) Bill. I am not surprised at Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's and Thakurdas Bhargava's misplaced zeal in opposing the Bill or trying to tinker with it; they do not seem to believe that there is anything like a practical and constructive approach to problems.

I am surprised about the incident to which you have referred. Pattabhi should have had some sense of the dignity of his own position, instead of indulging in such a theatrical and unseemly demonstration. One swallow does not make a summer, and one incident does not reflect lawlessness; but there is something of a political vendetta in it. In any case, Shankar rang up the Premier of PEPSU and impressed upon him the need for energetic investigation of the case.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. V. Gadgil
Minister for Works, Mines & Power
New Delhi

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EXTRACT

Bombay
20 May 1949

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have just returned from the weekly Board meeting of the East India Cotton Association where we discussed for more than half an hour the Government Press Note re: rates for new crop

cotton. These rates are so much at variance with what the cotton trade and non-officials and officials including the Ministries of CP and Saurashtra had suggested, that there was unanimous disappointment bordering almost on exasperation on this further harsh treatment of the cotton grower and the cotton trade. I do not wish to worry you with the arguments for and against the Government policy, because they have before now been exhaustively put forward by me on behalf of the EICA, but my point in sending this letter is to carry out what I had conveyed to several Directors on the Board of the Association who expressed their feelings in very strong terms and very sincerely deplored the continued defiance by Government to do justice to the cotton grower and the cotton trade, that I will write a d.o. letter to you drawing your attention to the unanimous feeling felt by the cotton trade on the rates announced for cotton. I will add one word. I am convinced that the Government of India, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Industry and Supply which are the two Ministries concerned in this, are doing something the consequences of which they do not fully realize. I will not worry you with more but sincerely ask you to see if you can't stop the dangerous experiment which these two Ministries of the Government of India are bent upon carrying out in spite of almost the unanimous opinion of persons intimate with cotton and agriculture. I may say that Shri Bhawanji Arjan Khimji definitely expressed himself at the Board meeting that he thought the Government's policy was completely unworkable and should be opposed strenuously.

Yours sincerely,
Purushottamdas Thakurdas¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

¹ Leading cotton merchant of Bombay; President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, member, Central Assembly and Deputy leader of Independent Party headed by Jinnah; delegate to RTC, 1930-33

Dehra Dun
28 May 1949

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad/Jairamdas,¹

I have received a letter from Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas regarding the rates for new cotton crop. He says that the decision of the Government of India is a dangerous experiment being carried out in spite of the almost unanimous opinion of persons intimate with cotton and agriculture and that the Government's policy was unworkable. Apart from the general interest in economic agricultural problems, this matter acquires some importance for me in view of the fact that Bombay province in general, and Gujarat in particular, are deeply interested in the growth of cotton and cotton trade. I should like to know the circumstances in which the decision was taken and the justification for the same.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Minister for Food and Agriculture
New Delhi

¹Jairamdas Doulatram: Bihar Governor, 1947-48; Union Food Minister, 1948-50; Governor of Assam, 1950-56; member, Rajya Sabha since 1959

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I received your letter of 28 May regarding the prices for new cotton. I enclose a note which will explain the position in full. As you will find, no hurried decision was taken. All interests were consulted. Two conferences of Provincial Ministers and other representatives were held and the final decision was taken by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. If there is any further point arising out of the matter, you may let me know. I have tried to make the note as exhaustive as possible for your information.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE EXTRACTS

NOTE ON COTTON PRICES

Along with the decontrol over cotton textiles the price of raw cotton was also decontrolled in January 1948. The decontrol was followed by an unprecedented rise both in the price of cotton and the price of cotton textiles.

Control over cotton prices was reimposed in September 1948. In recontrolling the price of raw cotton, the price was fixed at a level about 13 per cent higher than the controlled price before January 1948. The ceiling price of Jarilla 3/4" was fixed at Rs. 600 against Rs. 530 before January 1948. The above decision was taken jointly by the Hon'ble Minister for Industry & Supply, the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture, the Hon'ble Minister for Finance and the Hon'ble Minister for Commerce after consultation with Provincial Governments concerned, trade representatives and other experts.

When control over cotton prices was re-introduced in September 1948 the level at which food crop prices would be recontrolled was not known. It

is to be remembered that reimposition of control over cotton and cotton textiles preceded reimposition of food control. When food control was reimposed, the price of food crops was fixed at a level 25 per cent higher than under the previous control. This at once led to a disparity between the food prices and the cotton prices and gave rise to a certain amount of discontent among cotton growers. On the other hand, there being no statutory control on the price of unginned cotton or kapas the cultivator in most areas actually obtained a high price for his crop, which was out of parity with the controlled price for ginned cotton.

When the cotton prices for the 1948-49 season were fixed in September 1948 it was intended that prices for the next year, namely, 1949-50, would be reconsidered in the light of experience and announced well before the sowing season.

An examination of the agricultural statistics showed that during the last ten years there had been a serious shrinkage in the area of land under cotton, the area having declined from 199.3 lakh acres in the year 1938-39 to 110.4 lakh acres in the year 1947-48. The result was that India was now seriously short of cotton, particularly cotton of the better varieties (medium staple and long staple). The textile industry requires about 40 lakh bales of East Indian varieties of cotton every year. As against this the closing stocks in the hands of the mills and the trade at the end of the current crop year were not expected to be more than 4 lakh bales, and the Indian crop in the next year would not in all probability exceed 30 or 31 lakh bales. It was, therefore, a matter of considerable importance that the area under cotton, particularly medium and long staple cotton, should be speedily expanded. The question was whether this could be done without adversely affecting food production. The agricultural statistics available and the results of discussions with the provincial and State Governments indicated that while some of the land had undoubtedly been diverted from cotton to food crops, and particularly to ground nuts, not all the land which was once under cotton had been utilized for the cultivation of food crops.

It was clear, therefore, that efforts could be made to restore cotton cultivation on such fallow lands, without affecting food production.

These visits and discussions were followed by a conference in Delhi over which the Hon'ble Minister for Industry & Supply presided. The conference was attended by the Hon'ble Minister for Food & Agriculture, and officers of the Ministries of Agriculture, Food, Commerce, Finance and States. The Conference was also attended by the representatives of the Governments of Bombay, CP & Berar, Madras, East Punjab, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Matsya Union (including some of the Hon'ble Ministers) as also by representatives of the Indian Central Cotton Committee and the East India Cotton Association and of the cotton trade. While

there was divergence of opinion as to whether the price of the basic variety should be increased or not, the conference was unanimous that differentials for the better varieties of cotton should be increased so as to encourage the production of such varieties.

The Committee recommended increased differentials for a number of varieties of cotton.

After this the Ministry of Industry & Supply formulated their proposals, which were as follows:

(a) *the price of the basic variety of cotton, viz. Jarilla 25/32", should be increased by about Rs. 50 per candy. If, however, food prices were reduced by about 10 per cent, the price of the basic variety might remain unchanged.*

(b) *In any case the differentials should be increased as recommended by the Technical Committee.*

The question of cotton prices was accordingly discussed at the conference of Provincial Food and Agriculture Ministers.

The conference agreed that cotton prices should be fixed in a manner which, while bringing into cultivation lands which were under cotton but were now lying fallow, should not yet divert land from foodgrains to cotton. The conference also agreed that differentials for the better varieties should be increased as recommended by the Technical Committee under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Patil.

The question was finally considered by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet on 13 May 1949. The decisions were as follows:

(a) *There should be no change in the price of the basic variety.*

(b) *While the differentials should be raised for the better varieties as recommended by the [H. M.] Patil Committee, an attempt should be made to adjust the proposed differentials to bring down the average increase as much as possible.*

The differentials were re-examined in accordance with the decision. The Ministries of Agriculture and Industry & Supply agreed that the differentials for varieties better than Jarilla should be as recommended by the Technical Committee, but that the prices of varieties inferior to Jarilla should remain at the same level as in the last year.

New Delhi
29 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter of 28 May regarding the rates for new cotton crop. It is not clear from your letter as to what exactly is Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas's comment. Could you kindly send me the relevant extract from his letter? In regard to the rates for cotton crop, I have tried to support the view of the Bombay Government as it was expressed by the Hon'ble Shri Dinkarrao Desai.¹ As soon as I receive the extract from Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas's letter I will be able to write to you more fully.

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

New Delhi
3 May 1949

My dear Neogy,

I have come to know that there is some difference of opinion among the Directors of Scindias who have been given the Managing Agency of the new Shipping Corporation. For a Managing Agency to succeed, we should have a united team, and I would suggest that, before you proceed with this matter further or in any way make any further commitment, you might have a discussion with me, so that we might discuss how best we can achieve our objective.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
Minister for Commerce
New India

¹ Dinkarrao Narbheram Desai: Minister of Law and Civil Supplies, Bombay; leader, Indian delegation FAO conference, Washington, 1948

Dehra Dun
4 June 1949

My dear Neogy,

With reference to the discussion we had the other day about Scindias, I have had a talk with Tulsidas [Kilachand].¹ I am afraid none of the other alternatives covered during our discussion is feasible. It is no use saddling Tulsidas with someone with whom he cannot get on. Tulsidas tried his best to persuade Khatau to join, but Khatau has too much on his hands already. He is the only one who can look after the whole business and he finds that he cannot afford time for Scindias. Tulsidas has already secured the agreement of Walchand [Hirachand]² and others to his being the Managing Agent. A meeting has been convened and at that meeting he is likely to be elected Managing Agent. I have told him that he would have to devote more time to this business and he has agreed to do so.

In these circumstances, I think the best course would be to let this arrangement go through. I am convinced that no other alternative is possible or feasible. He has already arranged with a large number of his holdings of shares.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
Minister for Commerce
New Delhi

New Delhi
18 June 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 4th regarding Scindias, which I received only the other day when I returned from my tour to the tea gardens. I entirely agree with you that in the circumstances, the best that should be done is for the Managing

¹ Business man; Chairman, Bank of Baroda, 1932-63; MP in 1952

² Leading industrialist of Bombay who pioneered shipbuilding and manufacture of motor cars and aircraft

Agency to pass to Kilachand Devchand. This has been communicated to Tulsidas who was here the other day, and I am now waiting for the proposal to go through both in the Board of Directors of Scindias and in the General Meeting.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

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New Delhi
22 June 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I enclose a note regarding our discussions with Scindias for taking over the Vizag shipyard. After my discussions with the Finance Minister he has agreed that we may pay up to about Rs. 2½ crores to them in cash in two or three years so as to enable them to contribute their shares to the new shipping company which will be set up under Government auspices with Scindias as Managing Agents, but they are demanding practically payment of the entire sum in cash. I have suggested that about half of the amount agreed upon may be paid in cash and half should be in the form of shares in the new company which Government will float for management of the shipyard. This is a very fair proposal but they are not in a mood to accept it. I would like you to think about the matter. We may take our final decision after you return to Delhi.

We have received the report from the French consultants and I believe we will be in a position to undertake the future development of the shipyard with the co-operation of the French company.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

NOTE REGARDING DISCUSSIONS WITH SCINDIAS FOR TAKING OVER THE VIZAGAPATAM SHIPBUILDING YARD

1. In pursuance of the decision of the Cabinet taken on 10 January 1949 authorising the Ministry of Industry and Supply to undertake negotiations with Scindias for the acquisition of the Vizagapatam Shipbuilding yard on the basis of valuation by an expert naval engineer, negotiations with Scindias were immediately initiated. Simultaneously, steps were taken to engage the services of three French naval experts. The experts have completed their examination and have submitted their report which is under consideration.
2. In the course of the discussions with Scindias, it has been agreed that the amount of money to be paid to them for the acquisition of the shipyard and the machinery and stores assembled therein would be settled by negotiation after consideration of the report of the naval experts. It was therefore agreed that among the factors to be taken into consideration in determining the final figure would be—

- (a) any extravagant expenditure on their part.
- (b) any extra expenditure that may have to be incurred by Government on account of any faulty planning, designing, etc.
- (c) any materials or stores purchased by them which may not be required for our purpose.

The conclusion of negotiations in this regard is not likely to present serious difficulties.

3. The expenditure incurred by Scindias on the shipyard up to 31-12-1948 can be broadly classified in round figures (in crores) as follows:

(a) expenditure on capital works	Rs. 2.5
(b) expenditure on stores and materials etc.	Rs. 1.4
(c) expenditure on ships under construction	Rs. 0.8
Total	Rs. 4.7 crores*

At the preliminary discussions held with Scindias in March 1949, Scindias desired that they should be paid in cash for items (b) and (c), while they would accept Government securities for item (a) and would undertake to cash them only for the purchase of ships either from the Vizagapatam Shipyard or elsewhere. In effect, therefore, Scindias desired that the whole

* Expenditure up to 31-6-1949 as given by the company is Rs. 5.61 crores.

amount should be paid in cash to them. The tentative proposal put to Scindias on behalf of Government was that the whole of the agreed amount of compensation should be paid to Scindias in the form of shares of the company or corporation to be formed by Government for the management of the yard, subject to the proviso that shares up to the value of (b) and (c) could be utilized by Scindias for the purpose of buying ships in future from the Vizagapatam yard and from there alone. These proposals were unacceptable to Scindias. They claimed that it was necessary for them to mobilize all their financial resources in order to carry on their business and to acquire ships for the overseas trade routes where it has started functioning as desired by the Government of India.

4. The Ministry of Industry & Supply considered the matter further taking into account Scindias' responsibility for running the shipping services and co-operating in the Shipping Corporation to be set up by the Ministry of Commerce. They considered that cash payment of a certain amount of the purchase price was inevitable. They also considered that a substantial portion of the compensation, say, something like the value of the permanent capital investment, should be paid only in the form of shares and not in cash and that arrangements in this regard must also provide for enabling the new shipyard to sell Scindias and the latter to buy from Government the two ships now under construction on their account.

5. H. M. I. & S. discussed the matter on 22-5-1949 with his colleagues in the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. The Committee recognized that it was inevitable that a part of the cost of acquisition would have to be paid in cash. The Committee also recognized that the amount that should be paid in cash could only be settled by further negotiation. The Committee accordingly decided that the Ministry of Industry & Supply should invite Scindias to send, as soon as possible, representatives with full authority to discuss and conclude matters. H.M. Finance desired that we should try to negotiate a cash payment of the order suggested by the Ministry of Industry & Supply (about Rs. 1 crore) and that the actual payment of the amount so settled should be made only after Scindias Managing Agency had been suitably reconstructed.

6. In pursuance of the above decision, H.M. I & S. discussed the matter with Scindias representatives on 7 June 1949. Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, was also present at the discussions. The following proposals were put to Scindias:

(a) Scindias should take shares in the new shipbuilding Corporation to be set up to the value of the amount agreed upon for the capital works in the Vizag Shipyard.

(b) As the two ships under construction are specially designed for Scindias' use, they should obviously be bought by them on completion. The

amount necessary for this purpose should be paid to them either in the form of shares in the Corporation or in the form of short-dated non-transferable Government securities. Either of these should be accepted by the new Corporation in payment for the two ships to be sold to Scindias.

(c) The balance should be paid in cash (this would involve a cash payment of the order of Rs. 1 crore).

As it transpired at the discussion that Scindias had to pay towards their share of the capital of the Shipping Corporation a sum of Rs. 1.5 crores during this year and Rs. 0.75 crores next year, H.M. (I & S) agreed to recommend to the Cabinet payment of these sums in cash in suitable instalments. He, however, made it clear to Scindias that so far as the cost of the capital works in the Vizagapatam Shipyard was concerned, the value of the amount agreed upon will not be paid in cash but in the form of shares in the new Shipping Corporation to be set up. Scindias wanted time to consider and promised to send their reply in writing. This they have now done. A copy of their reply is attached. It will be seen from it that they want the entire amount to be paid in cash in one instalment if possible; otherwise, in six or eight equal half yearly instalments, or half the amount in cash in six or eight equal half yearly instalments, and the balance in ships built at the Vizagapatam yard. Acceptance of Scindias' proposal would mean payment of almost the entire amount in cash. H.M. (I & S) feels that the utmost that we should go should be to pay in cash the amount of Rs. 2.25 crores which is payable by them as shares to the Shipping Corporation.

7. H.M. (I & S) discussed the matter at the meeting of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet yesterday (22-6-1949). His tentative view is that about half of the amount agreed upon may be paid in cash and the balance in the form of shares in the new company which Government will float for management of the shipyard. H.M. (Finance) has provisionally agreed that we may pay up to Rs. 2½ crores in cash in two or three years so as to enable Scindias to contribute their shares to the new shipping company to be set up under Government auspices. H.M. (I & S) desires that the final decision may be taken by the Cabinet.

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New Delhi
4 October 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

As you know, the question of management of Scindia Company has been engaging my attention for some time. I am sending herewith a note prepared by Shankar which gives the existing position regarding the discussions which were held by

him or me from time to time with the various parties. You will see that the position is very complicated and the solution does not seem quite easy. At the same time, we have to evolve a very early solution of the tangled mess in which the affairs of Scindias have got involved as a result of disagreement among the two partners of the firm; secondly, between the Managing Agents and the shareholders; and, thirdly, among the Board of Directors. All of them have, however, assured me that they would abide by such scheme as I might put forward. Naturally before evolving any scheme I should like to have the benefit of your advice and assistance. I, therefore, suggest that at some time during the next couple of days we might meet along with Neogy and try to evolve a workable scheme. I shall let you know the date and time as soon as a suitable opportunity offers itself. My whole programme is so uncertain because of the Assembly and party meetings.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

NOTE REGARDING THE MANAGING AGENCY OF THE SCINDIA COMPANY

Legally the Managing Agents can continue up to 15 January 1957. Thereafter they can have a fresh lease of life if the Scindias agree to continue their services on such terms and conditions as may be settled. Under the existing agreement with Messrs Narottam Morarji, who are the Managing Agents, the Managing Agency firm can be reorganized and reconstituted and the present agreement will subsist between Scindias and the reconstituted firm until its expiry in 1957.

2. The present crisis has arisen because of Mr. Shantikumar Morarji's unwillingness to continue as Managing Agent of Scindias. There is a difference of opinion between the two partners of the Managing Agency firm, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji. Mr. Shantikumar was first unwilling to have anything to do with the management of Scindias at all; but, subsequently, he was willing to enter into an arrangement with the other founder members of Messrs Narottam Morarji, namely, the houses of Kilachand, Walchand and Lallubhai Samaldas on the basis of one representative from each, plus a representative of the administration (his own preference was for Mr. Master) and an outsider member partner (his preference being

for Sir C. D. Deshmukh).¹ The reconstituted firm will have to enter into a fresh agreement as the remaining period would not be sufficient for it to make itself pay. In the alternative, he was prepared to dissolve the firm of Messrs Narottam Morarji and was not willing to reach any other arrangement under the name of that firm. Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji is unwilling to dissolve the partnership (under the agreement if Mr. Shantikumar Morarji wishes to give up his partnership he must give the first option to Mrs. Shantikumar) and is prepared to reconstitute the Managing Agency. Her scheme is stated in para 3 below. It includes both Mr. and Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji, whereas Mr. Shantikumar's scheme includes himself only; it includes Mr. Kishor Maneklal to whom both Mr. Shantikumar and Action Committee are entirely opposed. As regards outsider member, she wanted to have Sir N. R. Pillai.² Mr. Shantikumar Morarji is vehemently opposed to her inclusion in the Managing Agency. Mr. Shantikumar was also particular that Shri Gaganvihari Mehta³ should join as representative of the house of Lalubhai Samaldas, but in his final letter Mr. Shantikumar has communicated to H.M. his failure to persuade Shri Gaganvihari to join. Since this was an indispensable feature of Mr. Shantikumar's scheme, he has now written to say that he has no scheme to offer. Mr. Shantikumar's scheme when it was originally considered at a meeting at which Mr. and Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji, Mr. Dharamsey Khatau and Mr. Navinchand Mafatlal were present, was generally accepted by all but subsequent discussions showed a difference of opinion between the husband and wife and unwillingness on the part of both Mr. Master and Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta to join.

3. Mrs. Shantikumar has now proposed a scheme for consideration under which the Managing Agency would vest in a reconstituted Agency firm of Messrs Narottam Morarji consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji, Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, Mr. Kishor Maneklal, Mr. Bahubali Gulabchand and one member to be selected by the above. All partners of this Managing Agency will be full-time workers. If this scheme is accepted, the procedure to implement it would be that the present partners and co-shareers will have to write to Messrs Narottam Morarji & Co., agreeing to release their share; the new working partners will have to write to Messrs Narottam Morarji & Co., agreeing to accept the scheme and to form the new concern. The Board of Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. will have to approve of the new arrangement. A general meeting of the Scindia Co. will have to be called and a fresh

¹ICS; Governor of Reserve Bank of India, 1943-49; Union Finance Minister, 1950-56; Chairman, University Grants Commission, 1956-63 and Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, 1962-67

²ICS; Commissioner-General for Economic and Commercial Affairs in Europe, 1946-48; Secretary to Union Cabinet till 1952; Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs

³Member, Planning Commission, 1950-52; Ambassador in Washington, 1952-58

agreement will have to be signed after the General Meeting has approved of these arrangements. Shri Walchand Hirachand has signified his acceptance of the arrangements proposed by Mrs. Shantikumar.

4. The Action Committee, which was formed and which claims to have collected about 13 lakhs of proxies (out of 45 lakhs) for the last General Meeting, expressed their opposition to the hereditary character of the existing or proposed agency. They have suggested that the present Board of Management should be reconstituted eliminating figureheads and substituting for them men of proved business experience and an independent and resourceful chairman. In particular, they wanted Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai¹ to join the Board. They would want the Managing Agency to be reconstituted consisting of men of standing and experience in whose business acumen, integrity and diligence shareholders would have ample confidence. They were prepared to enter into fresh agreement for a period of ten or fifteen years. If, however, the Managing Agency cannot be so reconstituted for any reason, they would prefer to have two or three capable Managing Directors under the control of Board of Directors. They would be prepared to give the existing Managing Agents some compensation, although they feel that they have had enough out of the Scindias and should not insist on compensation. For the Managing Directors, they have suggested the following names:

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar

Mr. C. H. Bhabha²

Mr. H. M. Patel³

Mr. M. A. Master

Sir Raghavan Pillai

Mr. Gaganvihari Mehta and

Mr. Keki Cooverji Wadia of Hyderabad.

5. Mr. Bhabha has suggested the removal of the present Managing Agents and their substitution by two or three Managing Directors with a tenure of 5 years who should be paid a salary of Rs. 7,000 each and should be men of high administrative ability and commanding confidence. The composition of the Board of Directors, in his view, should also be changed, so that the Board may have as its chairman a person with great drive and mature experience and in no way connected with the persons in charge of the management. From the Board the figureheads should be eliminated.

¹ President, Millowners' Association; member, Central Assembly; Director, Reserve Bank of India

² Business man of Bombay; Commerce Member, Interim Government, September, 1946; member, Works, Mines and Power, November 1946; Commerce Minister, 15 August 1947; resigned in April, 1948

³ ICS; Director-General, Supply Department, 1942-43; Secretary to Cabinet, 1946-47; Defence Secretary, 1947-53; Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1954-58; member, Lok Sabha

6. The Board of Directors met to consider this question a day or two before H.M. left Bombay. The report that we received was that they had agreed to entrust the Managing Agency to Seth Walchand Hirachand and the latter had accepted it. Subsequently, however, there seems to have been some change and Mr. Walchand Hirachand's letter received yesterday indicates that the Board has now gone back upon its earlier decision.
7. The position of Seth Tulsidas Kilachand requires separate consideration. He came to Dehra Dun last June and told H.M. that the Board had decided to give the Managing Agency exclusively to him and that the Board would meet on 28 June and pass a resolution to that effect. H.M. then told Seth Tulsidas Kilachand that since the Board was agreed about his choice, it was all right by him. He wrote to that effect to H.M. (Commerce) and suggested that this might be accepted. Subsequently, however, H.M. came to know that Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji had not accepted this arrangement and until she did so, the arrangement could not be implemented. It seems that at the meeting on 28 June Seth Tulsidas Kilachand could not get the proposal through and the whole question was again in the melting pot. During the many discussions in Bombay, it transpired that the general feeling was against entrusting the management to a single individual and it was generally in favour of a composite Board of Management, be it a Managing Agency or a Board of Managing Directors. It was learnt, however, that Seth Tulsidas Kilachand had agreed to spare an hour every day for Scindias and to participate in the management on the basis set out by Mrs. Shantikumar. Lately, it appears that Seth Tulsidas Kilachand has expressed to the Board his inability to join with any other partners in order to run the Managing Agency.
8. There are thus three gaps in the scheme put forward by Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji. One gap is that Mr. Shantikumar Morarji refuses to work with Mrs. Shantikumar in any Managing Agency. The second is that Shri Tulsidas Kilachand is now out of it. A third difficulty is that Shri Shantikumar Morarji will not agree to have the present Managing Agency reconstituted on any other basis except his own, though he will not mind dissolving the present Managing Agency.
9. Virtually, therefore, the position is one of complete deadlock and, if the deadlock has to be resolved, the solution has to be imposed on the Board of Directors, shareholders and the Managing Agents by H.M., whose decision all have agreed to accept. At the same time, it is obvious that any arrangement which does grave violence to the sentiments of the shareholders or the leading figures on the Board of Management, the Managing Agents and the shareholders will start with a very serious handicap.
10. It might also be explained that the Board of Directors in its dealings with Managing Agents functions through a small committee of four, of

whom Seth Chunilal Mehta is one. There is a feeling that the latter must be replaced by a more suitable director.

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New Delhi
5 October 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Thank you for your letter of 4 October regarding the future management of Scindia Company. I shall go through the note you have sent and shall be ready to discuss the matter with you as soon as you are free to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Construction House
Ballard Estate
Bombay
11 October 1949

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Since I saw you last, when you were in Bombay, I have not heard anything further from Delhi on the subject of the acquisition of the shipbuilding yard. As you know, this is a matter which has been causing serious concern to me and to the Scindia Co.

There is an aspect of this question which does not seem to have been fully appreciated at Delhi. It is not mere financial considerations that impel the Scindias to part with the shipbuilding yard. There are really other important considerations also.

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At present, roughly speaking, it costs nearly 25 lakhs of rupees more for building ships in India as compared to the construction of a 8,000 tonner in Great Britain. It is hardly realized that the mere cost of steel for constructing 8,000 tonners in India will be merely 6 lakhs of rupees more for constructing 8,000 tonners in the UK.

Indian shipbuilding can have no control over this vital factor. Moreover, Indian shipbuilding can only get steel for constructing only three ships in a year. . . . The present overheads in the shipbuilding yard is about 24 lakhs of rupees per annum. If you construct two ships in the yard it will impose a burden of 12 lakhs of rupees per ship. If you construct twelve ships in the yard, the burden will be two lakhs of rupees per ship. . . .

I understand that neither has the Cabinet nor the Industry & Supply Ministry come to any final decision on the subject of the acquisition of the shipbuilding yard.

Mr. Master reported to me on Saturday the gist of the talk which he had on this subject with Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister. The Defence Ministry is naturally intensely interested in the effective establishment of the shipbuilding yard. Apart from meeting all the requirements for the servicing and repairs of the naval craft, the Ministry needs the yard for the construction of such craft as it may require in the future.

I understand also from what Mr. Master told me that Sardar Baldev Singh would be prepared to consider the acquisition of the shipbuilding yard provided he was asked to do so. Without making any commitment he told Mr. Master that his Ministry would seriously consider to find the necessary cash.

In any case I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to put in a word for the acquisition of the shipbuilding yard to Sardar Baldev Singh and to the Ministry of Supply & Industry. What I am really anxious is that the company may be paid in cash for such acquisition. . . . Mr. Master further told me that Sardar Baldev Singh asked him to communicate what he said during their talk to me. We cannot however approach the Ministry of Industry & Supply officially on the subject and hence the request.

I need not, therefore, say anything further in the matter than to emphasize how vital it is for us that the Govt. should take a final decision on the subject without delay.

Awaiting anxiously a line in reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Walchand Hirachand

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
19 October 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Thanks for your letter of 14 enclosing copy of a letter which you received from Shri Walchand Hirachand about the shipyard at Vizagapatam. As you know, the real difficulty about proceeding with the acquisition of the shipyard is financial. We actually got to the stage of negotiating with Scindias on the amount of compensation, but we had to leave matters there until it is settled that funds will be available not only to pay for the shipyard but also to keep it running at minimum capacity. If under your priority decision funds are allotted for this purpose, I shall only be too happy to go ahead with the acquisition. I do not therefore quite understand the significance of Baldev Singh's reported offer that he would find the necessary cash. I do not suppose that the Defence Ministry have any separate resources which do not form part of the pool of resources you are now allocating. In that case I do not see how the Defence Ministry will be in a better position than the Ministry of Industry & Supply to go ahead. This fact is so patent that I can only believe that Mr. Master must have misunderstood Baldev Singh. I cannot accept the only other construction possible that the Defence Ministry is anxious to take over the subject of the shipping industry because if Baldev Singh has any such intention, I am sure he would have spoken to me about it and not given indirect suggestions to other people. But even then the question would arise as to whether the Government of India have the necessary financial resources for the purpose.

In any case, we cannot delay any longer the final decision on this matter, a decision which will depend directly on your priority award. I can only urge that while making your decision you will give consideration to the points I have personally urged. If we cannot take over the shipyard, it is bound to be

closed down and that will be deplorable from every point of view.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Acting Prime Minister
New Delhi

HOME MINISTRY NOTE

H.M. met H.Ms I. & S. and Commerce to discuss the question of Scindias. It was agreed that, in view of the differences between the two partners of the Managing Agency and the difficulty of evolving an agreed workable alternative scheme of Managing Agency, the best course would be to resort to the system of Managing Directors. The names discussed were

Mr. Master

Shri M. S. Srinivasan and

Sir N. R. Pillai.

It was also agreed that the Board of Directors should be simultaneously reconstituted. In order to decide upon the future course of action, it was decided to convene a representative meeting of the Board of Directors and shareholders, so that their reactions might be obtained and the question of personnel, etc., if necessary, might be discussed. In consultation with H.Ms I. & S. and Commerce, it was decided to extend an invitation to the following persons:

Shri Dharamsey Khatau

Shri Shantikumar Morarji

Mrs. Shantikumar Morarji

Shri Tulsidas Kilachand

Shri Walchand Hirachand

Shri Navinchand Mafatlal and

two representatives of Scindias' Committee of Action.

14-10-1949

V. Shankar

New Delhi
15 November 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I discussed with you some time back the question of retaining a certain provision in the current year's budget and making provision for a certain amount in the next year's budget for the scheme of Shipping Corporation. The matter was, I believe, kept pending till the scheme for the re-organisation of the Managing Agency of the Scindias had been decided upon. This has now been done, and a senior officer of Government will be joining the firm, for all practical purposes, as a partner. That being so, I feel that we should now go ahead with our Shipping Corporation project, any further delay in which is likely to cause various complications. For instance, only yesterday a representative of a leading shipping concern operating on the Indian coast saw one of my officers and mentioned, off the record, that circumstances might compel his firm (British India) to talk with non-Conference Lines—Polish etc.—about reaching some kind of agreement in regard to Far East trade, and enquired what the position was regarding our Shipping Corporation. He further added that in case it would take too long to take shape, it may not be possible for them to keep berths warm for the Corporation. To be on the safe side, our officer indicated to him that the Corporation would come into being in a couple of months, and that we would begin to operate, if necessary, with chartered ships on the Far East routes. This shows the urgency of the matter. Could you, therefore, kindly let me know whether we should now go ahead with our scheme of one Shipping Corporation on the reduced scale agreed to by me during the discussions?

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Central Bank Building
33 Netaji Subhas Road
Calcutta

2 December 1949

My dear Shankar,

I enclose, as desired by H.M., a note (in duplicate) concerning the Vizagapatam Shipbuilding Yard for his personal use.

2. Boothalingam gave me to understand that the matter would come up for consideration at the highest level within the next week or so. That is just as well since the company can hardly carry on with the yard any longer. I have, therefore, prepared this note in some hurry but shall check it up carefully after I go to Vizagapatam. The essential questions for determination are: (1) Should not the Government (and the country's leaders) redeem their promises to come to the company's rescue by acquiring the yard from 1 January 1950? (2) If so, what should be the valuation for purposes of acquisition? (3) What should be the future operating arrangements in respect of the yard, quite irrespective of whether the Government should acquire it immediately or postpone that issue for some time?

3. Briefly, my opinion in respect of each of the foregoing questions is as follows:

(1) It would be most unfair to the company if the acquisition of the yard were postponed any longer. It has been "under consideration" since January 1948! The capital locked up in it has crippled the company. This case must therefore be accorded preferential treatment, especially in view of (a) past promises, and (b) the fact that it is an already established (and not a new) basic industry. Moreover, it is only on the basis of acquiring the yard now that the Government could plan for its adequate expansion as and when their ways and means position improves, say, by 1953-54. The amount required for such expansion would be of order of Rs. 4 to 5 crores spread over two years. Meanwhile, the acquisition of the yard in January 1950 will not raise any ways and means problem since my suggestion is that the cost of the yard need not immediately be paid. The company will be agreeable to wait for as long as five years,

New Delhi
15 November 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I discussed with you some time back the question of retaining a certain provision in the current year's budget and making provision for a certain amount in the next year's budget for the scheme of Shipping Corporation. The matter was, I believe, kept pending till the scheme for the re-organisation of the Managing Agency of the Scindias had been decided upon. This has now been done, and a senior officer of Government will be joining the firm, for all practical purposes, as a partner. That being so, I feel that we should now go ahead with our Shipping Corporation project, any further delay in which is likely to cause various complications. For instance, only yesterday a representative of a leading shipping concern operating on the Indian coast saw one of my officers and mentioned, off the record, that circumstances might compel his firm (British India) to talk with non-Conference Lines—Polish etc.—about reaching some kind of agreement in regard to Far East trade, and enquired what the position was regarding our Shipping Corporation. He further added that in case it would take too long to take shape, it may not be possible for them to keep berths warm for the Corporation. To be on the safe side, our officer indicated to him that the Corporation would come into being in a couple of months, and that we would begin to operate, if necessary, with chartered ships on the Far East routes. This shows the urgency of the matter. Could you, therefore, kindly let me know whether we should now go ahead with our scheme of one Shipping Corporation on the reduced scale agreed to by me during the discussions?

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
3 December 1949

My dear Syama Prasad/Neogy,

When Dandekar came here early this week, I asked him to prepare a note on the Vizagapatam Shipbuilding Yard. I am sending herewith a copy of the note which he has sent. I think we had better discuss this matter some time when it is convenient to you. I have sent a copy to Neogy/Syama Prasad as well. In the meantime, if you have any advance comments, which you would like to send me, I would be grateful if you could, as soon as possible.

2. I would be glad if you will kindly return the copy of the note.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry and Supply
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy
Minister for Commerce
New Delhi

New Delhi
11 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I have carefully considered Dandekar's letter about the Vizag Shipyard, and discussed it with Matthai.

Dandekar's proposals, in brief, are that Government should take over from 1 January 1950 on a valuation of Rs. 400 lakhs, that is, cost incurred without depreciation. Payment to be made in instalments within five years (or in instalments beginning *after* 5 years as Dandekar stated to my joint Secretary). Government to pay interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ meanwhile. Government also to

if necessary, provided the Government pay interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum, i.e. the rate at which the company is paying interest on the debentures recently floated by it.

(2) I am quite clear that the valuation for purposes of acquisition should be no more, and no less, than the actual money investment of the company in the yard, viz. 400 lakhs. On the one hand, it is true that this does not allow for any depreciation; on the other, it is equally true that it does not include any charge for capitalized interest or for the "enterprise-value" necessarily attaching to a long-term enterprise of this pioneering character. I must not, however, omit to mention that the company had, at one stage of the negotiations, agreed to a deduction of Rs. 30 lakhs by way of depreciation (being 50 % of the normal depreciation); I personally am against this, but have no doubt that the company will abide by its commitment if the Government should unfortunately so insist.

(3) As regards the future working of the yard, I have no doubt that it should be operated economically on the basis of a programme for construction of three ships simultaneously, provided Government's ways and means position admits of expenditure on that scale. Otherwise, it would be necessary to operate the yard on the basis of the simultaneous construction of two ships at a time, even though the cost per ship would be considerably higher. This could be lowered, if substantial retrenchment were permitted; but that would involve the dismissal of a very large number of trained, specialized labour. In any case, whether we operate on a three-ships programme or a two-ships programme (with or without retrenchment), such ships cannot possibly be built by the company on its own account or with its own finance because it has no finance. They can, therefore, be built only on Government account and with Government finance; the only alternative would be to close down the yard altogether, except for mere "care and maintenance" expenditure.

Yours sincerely,
N. Dandekar¹

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
New Delhi

¹ ICS; Commissioner of Income-Tax, Bengal, 1947-48; member, Central Board of Revenue, 1948; member, Lok Sabha

New Delhi
3 December 1949

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Minister for Industry and Supply
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy
Minister for Commerce
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New Delhi
11 December 1949

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Dandekar's proposals, in brief, are that Government should take over from 1 January 1950 on a valuation of Rs. 400 lakhs, that is, cost incurred without depreciation. Payment to be made in instalments within five years (or in instalments beginning *after* 5 years as Dandekar stated to my joint Secretary). Government to pay interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ meanwhile. Government also to

authorize Scindias to build on Government account two ships at a total cost of Rs. 135-150 lakhs or if Government can afford it, three ships at a total cost of Rs. 200 lakhs.

It is established that unless the yard is developed at a cost of about five crores of rupees, and until eight or nine ships per year are built, shipbuilding will not be economical. If Government acquire the yard and do not develop it, we shall have to spend every year about 150 lakhs at least to build ships which will be worth only Rs. 70 or 80 lakhs in the open market. Matthai and I, therefore, think that until Government feel sure of being able to find Rs. 5 crores for further development and also enough finance to build seven or eight ships thereafter, the question of acquisition should not be taken up.

We realize, of course, that something should be done to see that the yard is not disrupted. We suggest that for this purpose we should authorize Scindias, without taking over the yard, to build two ships on Government account. This will cost us about Rs. 135-150 lakhs. The ships will be completed by about April 1951, by which time our finances may well improve and we may be in a position to reconsider acquisition. After the ships are built, Government has to sell or charter them at prevalent market rates either to Scindias or to some other shipping company. Either course would involve a loss to Government of the order of Rs. 70 or 80 lakhs. This must be faced and regarded as a subsidy to the industry.

If you agree, I shall resume negotiations on the basis of costing of the two ships to be ordered.

Matthai has seen this letter and approves of it.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
20 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am sorry I have been somewhat late in replying to your letter dated 3 December 1949 regarding the Vizagapatam ship-building yard. Our capital budget position for this year and for the year 1950-51 makes it impossible for us to acquire the yard and so we have to be content with a make-shift arrangement for the time being. At the same time it would be a tragedy to allow the yard to remain unused and to allow the industry—which has been set up against odds under difficult circumstances—to suffer extinction. We have to keep the yard going minimizing unemployment as far as possible and avoiding the loss of trained technical personnel. Our shipping industry is in its infancy and must expand and will do so with a certain improvement in the capital market. It would, therefore, be possible to absorb the ships that may be built at Vizagapatam Yard at the rate of three per year without any difficulty. Construction of three ships at a time will reduce losses as well as unemployment. We should, therefore, tell Scindias that they should go ahead with plans for the construction of three ships at a time on condition that Government will take over these ships at cost price when ready and sell them at competitive prices to Indian shipping companies who will thus get the ships at the same prices at which they can get them, say, from the United Kingdom. This will amount to subsidisation on the part of Government, but I see no alternative to it and there should be no objection to it so long as the amount of subsidy is reduced to the minimum. This could be done with a programme of three ships at a time. In view of the urgency of the matter, I suggest that you might be good enough to call a meeting of the Ministers concerned so that our programme could be finalized and communicated to the Scindias.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CHAPTER VI
CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENCYSHIP

168

New Delhi
4 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter. I should very much like to come to Dehra Dun, both for a brief rest and to have talks with you. I shall try to do so during the next week-end, probably reaching there on Saturday afternoon and returning on Monday morning. Work here is very heavy. Apart from this, new situations are continually arising, which have to be dealt with immediately; for instance, the French possessions in India, Sikkim, and at any time, Kashmir and the UN Commission. Then there is the refugee problem which, owing to the heat and the coming rains, is assuming a particular urgency. The removal of the stall-holders from New Delhi also creates a delicate situation. However, I hope to come next week-end.

I heard yesterday about the death of Chintamani Deshmukh's wife in England. I am told that this has affected Deshmukh very much now and he is rather broken up. The whole purpose of his taking leave and going to England no longer applies. He could well have continued as Governor of the Reserve Bank. I suppose it is too late to do that now and we have to think of utilizing him to the best advantage. He is too good a man to be wasted. I have written to Matthai about it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi



SARDAR PATEL GREETES MRS. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT ON HER RETURN FROM THE
AFTER LEADING THE INDIAN DELEGATION AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHERE
INDIA WON BY A TWO-THIRD MAJORITY ON HER RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN

time later. I entirely agree that, in your absence, I should be available near at hand.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

170

Government House
New Delhi
26 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Please see the enclosed curious letter from a member of the PCC of Rajasthan (Jaipur). Whether Mr. Hiralal Shastri¹ is a bad man as described in the letter or not, and whatever the motive of the writer of the letter may be, it does not seem to be desirable that the "Sarvapratham Rashtrapathi" 's place should become the subject matter of title-page propaganda. If it is true that the Lokvani belongs to one of Mr. Shastri's group, perhaps he may be told that this picture is objectionable so that he may not repeat such stuff.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Bhinson Ka Rasta
Jaipur City
24 May 1949

Mahamahim Rajaji,

The Lokvani Weekly has published two blocks side by side (Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari or Dr. Prasad) on the title page in the recent issue of 22 May 1949. This paper belongs to Mr. Hiralal Shastri's group. The very publication of the relative blocks shows that propaganda and canvassing against Your Excellency in favour of Dr. Prasad has been started by Mr. Shastri's group in Rajputana.

¹ General Secretary, All India States Peoples' Conference; member, CA; Chief Minister, Jaipur State and then of Rajasthan State

I have no ill-feeling towards Dr. Prasad as he is an unquestioned personality of India, but by sending this cutting I simply mean to bring the particular activity of Mr. Shastri's group in Rajputana to your notice.

I may also mention that in a workers' meeting Mr. Shastri mentioned openly that Rajaji had tried his best to put hindrance in the formation of Greater Rajasthan but he had to fail ultimately. This can be proved if ever required.

Yours sincerely,
Narain Chaturvedi
Member of PCG
Jaipur (Rajasthan)

171

Dehra Dun
6 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Please refer to your personal letter of 26 May 1949.

Hiralal Shastri has written to me explaining that the Editor of the Lokvani in posing the question took the idea from the Statesman of 5 May 1949. There was no intention whatsoever to raise any controversy, nor did he desire to give a hint that there was any sort of competition.

Hiralal also denies that he ever made the statement that you had tried to put hindrance in the formation of Greater Rajasthan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

172

Government House
New Delhi
6 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

It is a hopeless affair to try to control the Blitz, but this cutting seems to be too bad to be ignored. I have already sent you a cutting from a Jaipur periodical, sent to me by a Jaipur politician with his comments. This comes on the top of it.

Perhaps in spite of what I have written above, this may be ignored.

Do you think we could induce Rajen Babu¹ to do something to prevent this kind of gossip?

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

PS.

The taproot of Blitz's politics is seen in the second cutting enclosed, taken from the same issue (dated 4 June 1949).

C. R.

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT

Even before constitution-making is complete, informal private canvassing has already begun among the Constituent Assembly members regarding the choice of the provisional President of India, who will have to be installed as soon as the new Constitution is adopted and India declared a Republic. Members from the South, some of whom are anxious to keep Rajaji away from Madras politics, are canvassing in his favour while a large number of members from the North, who dislike C.R. for being too clever and crafty for an average Congressman, prefer Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Rajaji's supporters argue Rajendra Prasad [is] physically unfit for a strenuous job of this nature, while the other camp is raking up the past to damn C.R. as the man who paved the way for Pakistan. This argument is, no doubt, an exploded bomb, which will no longer carry any weight.

The two groups are, however, planning in a big way to mobilise public opinion indirectly, without coming out in the open, by enrolling Press support in favour of their respective mascot. Much will, of course, depend on how Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel will react. For the present at least the Big Two are in favour of C.R.

¹Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Congress leader from Bihar; close associate of Gandhi; lawyer of Patna High Court when he joined Gandhi's Satyagraha against British indigo planters in Champaran district, Bihar, 1917; twice President of Indian National Congress, 1934 and 1939; Minister for Food and Agriculture, Interim Government, and in first Nehru Government after Independence, 1945 and 1947 respectively; Chairman, Indian Constituent Assembly; first President of Indian Republic, 1950-62

A cold and calculating politician, Rajaji is, in the meantime, quietly consolidating his position. While pretending that he has only four trunks to pack to quit Government House, he is nevertheless spreading his roots all over the place. An analysis of the Court Circulars, for instance, will reveal the shrewd and subtle strategy he is employing to spread his net.

Blitz

4 June 1949

In a message to the tenth session of the Grand Lodge of Mysore and Hyderabad of the International Order of Good Templars held at Secunderabad recently, G. G. [Governor-General] Rajaji has extolled the wisdom of the East in prohibiting alcoholic drinks and, after proudly stating that the West is trying to copy the East, bursts into this pathos:

"There is a tendency among the governing classes and officials to indulge in spirituous drinks and to introduce them in spheres where they had no legitimate place before. I am very grieved at this growing tendency."

We quite sympathize with Rajaji for being constrained to make an observation which is, to say the least, damaging to the ruling classes who are supposed to be following Gandhian ideals, chiefly Prohibition, in the Ram Raj they have set up. We sympathize also with these latter folk, well meaning but impracticable faddists. Will Rajaji even now recognize the limitations of human nature and give a directive to the secondary powers in the provinces not to pursue what has proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp?

Blitz

4 June 1949

173

New Delhi
7 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for all the trouble you took over the matter of Lokvani and Hiralal Shastri. Your letter of 6 June on the subject has crossed my letter enclosing some cuttings from Blitz. It seems as if one cannot have peace as long as one lives. Who wants this Governor-Generalship or Presidentship or Deputy Premiership or anything else? It will not do to be depressed. Otherwise there is plenty of cause for being thoroughly disgusted with our semi-educated folk. If we do not add religious

education of some kind to what our boys and girls go through in schools and colleges, we shall go worse and worse.

I am glad you decided not to undertake to go to Trivandrum.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

174

Dehra Dun
9 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 6 June 1949.

With our notions of civil liberties and freedom of the Press and many impediments in the way of corrective action, I am afraid it is impossible to reform Blitz. However, I have had it conveyed to Rajen Babu that he might issue some sort of statement. I hope he will agree.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

175

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
11 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Two days ago Satyanarayan Babu¹ conveyed to me your message suggesting that I should issue a statement contradicting what has appeared in the Blitz and other papers. It is just today that I have been able to get hold of a copy of it and

¹ MLA (Bihar) 1926; MLA (Central) 1934; Congress Whip, 1937; Chief Whip, 1939; MLA (Central) 1945; Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, 1948-52; presently Governor of Madhya Pradesh

taken note of it. I met Rajaji day before yesterday. He told me the same thing. I readily agreed to issue a statement. I tried to get a copy of the Blitz but did not get it yesterday, still I wrote out a short statement and showed it to Jawaharlalji who approved it and sent a copy to Rajaji for his approval. As soon as I get it from him, I will send it to the Press. I am enclosing a copy.

But it seems to me that there is nothing for me to contradict in the statement in the Blitz. There is no allegation against me. There are three parties against whom allegations are made. Firstly, the members of the Constituent Assembly who are divided into two groups alleged to be canvassing in favour of the two contestants, secondly, you and Jawaharlalji who are said to be supporting one, and lastly one of the so-called contestants who is said to have done so many improper things. Therefore, although I have issued the statement it is not really and cannot be a contradiction of what is alleged in the issue of the Blitz. That contradiction, if any has to be made, can only come from the three parties concerned. Any how, it is a most sorry business that people should indulge in this kind of propaganda. I am told some other papers have also written. Rajaji himself mentioned to me two papers but I have not seen them and do not know what they have said.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

The following statement has been issued by Dr. Rajendra Prasad:

I am surprised to see that someone has started the stunt that there are two contestants for the high office of the President of our Republic when the new Constitution comes into force. There is no foundation for this. I deprecate discussion of individuals in connection with such a high post. There is and there can be no question of any rivalry between Rajaji and myself for any post or honour. I would, therefore, warn the public not to be misled by any propaganda of this nature and request all not to indulge in it.

10-6-1949

Dehra Dun
14 June 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 11 June 1949. I have now seen the Press communique in the papers.

I approached the matter entirely from the point of view of two distinguished personalities of the Congress, whose names were becoming the centres of controversy in the Press. At present, it had only affected a handful of papers. I thought it would not look nice if the controversy spread, particularly when it was without any substance. The Governor-General was obviously not in a position to issue any statement; the only other person who was free to do so was yourself, and I thought it would look more dignified as well as proper if the communique was issued by you. Hence my request through Satyanarayan Babu. I am very glad that you have acceded to it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi

New Delhi
11 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

For the last two or three days there has been a great deal of talk about the Presidentship. I felt that something had to be done to avoid subsequent contest and conflicts. I decided therefore to write to Rajendra Babu and I wrote to him yesterday in my own handwriting. As I have no copy of this letter, I shall indicate from memory what I wrote.

I wrote that I had heard some talk about the Presidentship and Rajendra Babu's name had been mentioned. We were all agreed that it would be most unfortunate for any kind of a

contest to take place between Rajaji and Rajendra Babu. I felt that having regard to all the circumstances, perhaps it might be desirable for Rajaji to function as President for the interim period, as this would involve the least change or difficulty. Of course I said that there could be no question that Rajendra Babu's choice as President could be an excellent one. But it seems simpler and more feasible for Rajaji to continue at this stage. I mentioned that you were in general agreement with me.

Tonight I have received Rajendra Babu's reply. I enclose a copy of it. Also a copy of my reply to him. [See enclosures to 178].

This morning I went to a meeting of the Drafting Committee. Satyanarayan was there and he said that he had spoken to you on the telephone and that you had suggested the postponement of the transitional clause in the Constitution dealing with the election. I agreed that the matter should be postponed, but the clause as framed merely laid down that the Assembly should elect the President. There was no harm in that clause being passed and the personal question not being raised at this stage. This could be done later when you were here. I had not then received Rajendra Babu's reply.

This is the position. I must say that I have been greatly surprised at the content and tone of Rajendra Babu's letter. It is for you to deal with the situation now. I shall not mention it to anyone here. I did tell Satyanarayan however that I had written to Rajendra Babu on the subject, though I did not tell him in any detail.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER TO DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD
DATED 10 SEPTEMBER 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

As the session of the CA is drawing to a close, we shall soon have to decide about the manner of election of the President of the Republic for the interim period till general elections are held. Apart from the manner of election it is desirable to be clear in our minds about the person to be put forward. In such a case a contested election for this brief period between our top-ranking colleagues would be most unfortunate. Some time back there was some

rumour in the Press and you were good enough to issue a contradiction. I am told that rumours are again afloat and some members of the CA are more or less canvassing. I feel this must be ended.

I have discussed this matter with Vallabhbhai and we felt that the safest and best course from a number of points of view was to allow present arrangements to continue, *mutatis mutandis*. That is that Rajaji might continue as President. That would involve the least change and the state machine would continue functioning as before. Of course you would be a very welcome choice as President but that would involve a change and consequent rearrangements. Also in a way to push out Rajaji at this stage would be almost a condemnation of his work. That would be most unfortunate. It was for these reasons that Vallabhbhai and I felt that Rajaji's name should be put forward for unanimous election. I hope you agree. In this matter it would of course be fitting for you to suggest this, rather than for any other person.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

178

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
11 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I received a letter from Jawaharlalji yesterday regarding the election of the interim President of the Republic. I am enclosing a copy of my reply to him which expresses my feeling.

I hope you are doing well and the improvement in your health is maintained.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE I

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
11 September 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I received your letter regarding the election of the interim President of the Republic yesterday. I have never been a candidate for any post or honour and when I issued the statement that there could be no question of any

contest between Rajaji and myself, I did so without any mental reservation. I should have thought that at least you and Vallabhbhai would accept that statement as genuine and would not create a contest between Rajaji and myself and consider it necessary to reject me. If I had come to know even in an indirect way that the matter was engaging your attention I would have gladly told you that there was no occasion for you to choose between us and that I would ask all who were interesting themselves in this election to wholeheartedly support Rajaji. It would not then have been necessary for you to give me reasons for your decision and it would have been my business to convince those who thought otherwise that the right course was to elect Rajaji unanimously. It would have given me real joy and satisfaction to do so. But this meant that I enjoyed your confidence, which I feel I had no right or business to expect. It would have required at least in this matter your sharing your views with me. As it is, I am required to accept and act upon a decision which has been taken without even the courtesy of consultation, although it concerned me intimately as my name had been dragged into it by you without my knowledge or authority. I am deprived of the chance of flattering myself with the thought that I have not been judged by you and rejected—and rejected too on your reasoning after condemnation and for reasons which cannot bear scrutiny.

You say that my election would involve change and rearrangement and that it would be almost a condemnation of Rajaji's work. It is not clear why change and rearrangement in this respect should be avoided, when the whole Constitution under which we have so long worked is going to change, when the Assembly which has prepared the Constitution is under your advice going to be dissolved and re-elected and that when in a great part of the country there is no suitable electorate or even an ad hoc electorate of the kind that once elected the present Assembly. One would have thought that all this meant a much greater change and rearrangement than any involved in the election of a person to the post of the President of the Republic created under the new Constitution in the place of the Governor-General appointed by the King of England. There is no condemnation involved or implied if a man is not reappointed to a post or to one similar to that which he has held on the expiry of the term of his office in due course, unless he is keen on being reappointed and is rejected. I have no reason to think that Rajaji has been keen on being reappointed, but you know better. I wonder if it has struck you that on that basis it will be a greater condemnation of his work, if somebody else is set up for the Presidency at the end of the interim period. It should not surprise you if I feel that on the same reasoning by making me a candidate and then rejecting me you and Vallabhbhai have condemned me and all that I have stood for and done during all these years in association with you. Perhaps it has been stupid of me to think that I have been one of your colleagues deserving your confidence.

I did not have it. I started with the presumption that there should be and could be no contest for the Presidentship between you and Rajaji. Rather suddenly when I found that matters might develop very soon, I decided to write you on my own behalf. I mentioned Vallabhbhai's name in my letter because about the time you issued the statement to the Press, there had been some talk between us. Indeed it was because you had issued that statement that I ventured to write to you, otherwise I might have hesitated.

I am deeply sorry that I should have hurt you in any way or made you feel that I have been lacking in respect or consideration for you. Please believe me when I say that this impression of yours is completely wide of the mark.

As you know, I shall be going away from India in about three weeks' time and I shall be away for five weeks or so. Probably the Constituent Assembly will decide this as well as other issues in my absence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi

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Camp Birla House
Bombay 6
16 September 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 11 September 1949.

2. Since then, I have also had a talk with you on the telephone. You told me on the telephone that you would be sending a copy of your final letter to Jawaharlal. I waited for it until yesterday, but I have not received a copy so far. I am, however, hastening to write to you, undoubtedly because of the distress and depth of feeling with which you have written your letter. Moreover, as a life-long colleague of yours, I owe it to you to do my best to relieve your mind of any burden that might be weighing on it.

3. Jawaharlal has indicated to me in brief from memory what he wrote to you. He did not keep a copy because he wrote to you in his handwriting. Therefore, he could not send me a copy of the original letter. He has also sent me a copy of your letter to him and his further letter to you. I am sure it

must have been farthest from Jawaharlal's mind to cause you any pain. You know how overworked he is and how busy his time is. In fact, my heart goes out to him in sympathy in the great and almost intolerable burden that he is carrying. One cannot, in these circumstances, expect him to weigh every word that he writes or, even at times, to realize the full import of what he is writing. In these circumstances, the subsequent letter which he has written acquires an importance of its own and explains to you fully how his mind was working and what led him to write to you. I am sure, you will accept that letter as finally disposing of the matter. Indeed, I am very glad to receive just now the further correspondence that has passed between him and you and to know that you have accepted that letter in the right spirit.

4. As Jawaharlal has explained to you, there was no recent talk between him and me about this matter at all. The only time we had a talk was in June when the article in the *Blitz* was brought to my notice, which purported to say that there was a contest going on between you and Rajaji about the Presidentship of the Union. I felt that it was not desirable that there should be an impression created in the public mind that two topmost Congressmen, who had been life-long colleagues, are contestants for a position of power and prestige. None of us has ever looked at such places as prizes worthy of contest. Due to the love and affection and mutual trust and confidence between us, we have always succeeded in resolving such matters amicably and without any public controversy. I, therefore, felt that it would be undesirable for such a situation to be canvassed in the public for long involving, as it did, two devoted and loyal colleagues of Bapu. I, therefore, sent word to you through Satyanarayan Babu to issue a statement and I was genuinely happy when you did so; not that I had any misgivings about your attitude in the matter, but because I felt that that would effectively allay the apprehensions in the public mind.

5. After that, the other day, Satyanarayan Babu telephoned to me saying that the clause regarding interim arrangements for the Presidentship of the Union would be coming before the Drafting Committee the next day and that this might again revive that controversy. I, therefore, sent word to him that the matter might, if possible, be kept pending until I return, so that we could settle the matter in the best manner possible with the least amount

of controversy and with the maximum of goodwill and amity. In fact, I had no doubt in my mind that the solution of this problem would not present any difficulty at all. But this talk on the telephone with Satyanarayan Babu took place only two days previous to the day you phoned to me.

6. I am sure you will agree that between us, who have spent a life time with each other mutually accommodating our views and solving even more serious controversies patiently and without any bitterness and as members of one family there is no room nor occasion for any misunderstanding or distance. We have been frank and candid with each other without hurting the feelings of any one. There is no reason why we should be different today and there should be any hesitation or aloofness between us. Unfortunately, each one of us is so heavily involved in our respective engagements that the occasions for meeting each other and sharing each other's confidence are becoming less and less frequent. If we could meet oftener, I am sure, we could not only share each other's difficulties, but we could also give a more effective lead to the organisation, which unfortunately is showing signs of deterioration. I feel so unhappy about it. If things had been different, I am sure, a matter like this would not have been left to be disposed of by correspondence, but would have been dealt with on a personal level which, in any case, is much more effective and satisfactory. Unfortunately, our physical infirmities have increased our difficulties of having frequent personal contact.

7. In the light of all that I have said above, I am sure you will review the matter again and not yield to some of the sentiments and feelings which you have expressed in your letter to Jawaharlal. Let the matter blow over completely and you should dismiss from your mind that any distance can come between us. We shall be near each other as we have been all these years. Our mutual regard and affection have stood the test of a great struggle. All other tests through which these may have to pass are bound to be comparatively insignificant.

8. We can talk about it further when I return to Delhi. For the time being, it would give me some relief if I got your assurance that you have dismissed this from your mind altogether.

9. I hope you are feeling better now. I myself am feeling better now and hope to return to Delhi, if all goes well, on the 25th or 26th of this month.

With affectionate regards,

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President
Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Please accept my thanks for your letter of the 16th. I hope you have by now received a full copy of all letters that have *passed between Jawaharlalji and me which I sent to you two or three days ago.*

I entirely agree with you that Jawaharlalji has been carrying an almost unbearable burden and it is the duty of all of us not to add to it if we cannot lighten it. I am, therefore, sorry that anything that I wrote caused him distress and pain and you will notice that I have apologised to him without any reservation in my letter of 14th instant. I have to apologise to you for having written to him about you and you, I hope, will accept it. You will notice that in his letter of the 10th which was the first letter, your name was mentioned twice by Jawaharlalji and I naturally thought that his letter represented the decision of you both. I now know that it was not and as soon as I got Jawaharlalji's letter of the 11th giving me this information I hastened to telephone to you, so that you might not be taken aback.

As I have said to Jawaharlalji, the impression which expressed itself in my letter of the 11th was the result of his letter read in the context of a sequence of events and I would like you to read the letter of the 10th placing yourself in my position. I felt that I deserved to be consulted before a decision was taken particularly when I had made a public statement that I was not a contestant, and there was no occasion to sit in judgment between Rajaji and me. I do not wish to repeat all that I have written in my letters to Jawaharlalji and only hope that you will judge me and what I have done after reading them.

I have felt not now but for a pretty long time that neither you nor Jawaharlalji ever think of consulting me even in matters of great public importance except formally when we met in the Working Committee, or when I was a member, in the Cabinet. I did not agree with Kripalani¹ as I understood your difficulties, although I complained on more than one occasion that we should at least be informed of important decisions, at least simultaneously with the Press, so that we might not be placed in a false position. But that was a different matter altogether. For some reason or other the public associates the names of three of us in all matters and look upon us as acting in all matters in unison. It is right that they should do so. That strengthens the position of the party. But it also implies that I should at least be kept informed, if not consulted which may not be possible or even desirable in all matters and on all occasions of important decisions taken and I should not be left to gather my information from newspapers or gossip. That has been the position for a pretty long time. I have mentioned all this only to show how all this has been leaving its effect on me. Not that I do not trust you both to do the right thing but only to avoid awkward situations which arise very often.

As regards this matter of Presidentship, as I have said there can be no question of a contest between Rajaji and myself, and I might also say between any one else and myself. I have never thought of these positions in terms of jobs and posts and would not for anything at this fag end of my life do so. As I have said what hurt me was the impression that you should have thought in spite of my disclaimer that there was going to be a contest, and that the canvassing that was going on would be ended by giving a decision. I know now that that was not Jawaharlalji's intention and you of course knew nothing of it, and the letter was the result of something that Satyanarayan Babu had told him. Satyanarayan Babu saw me yesterday. He had heard that Panditji had written to me a letter and he wanted to explain the position. You had also told me that he had telephoned to you about the talk among Assembly members. He said that he had assured both you and Panditji that there was much feeling among party members and that 85 per cent of the members favoured my being President and for that reason he

¹ Acharya J. B. Kripalani: Congress General Secretary, 1934-46; Party President, 1946-47; member of CA, 1946-50; resigned from Congress in 1951; MP, intermittently, 1952-70

had suggested postponement of consideration of the matter till you return. Of course I do not know what is passing among the members beyond what he has told me and that some members have approached me with a request not to say 'no' if they want my name to be proposed. I have given them the reply that I have mentioned in my letter to Jawaharlalji. I desire only to assure you that I have no interest in the matter at all.

I am going to Pilani today and hope to return in time for the reopening of the next session of the Assembly on 6 October. I am told a meeting of the Working Committee some days earlier is likely. If that materializes and my health permits I may return earlier if required. I have managed to sit through the long sessions of the Assembly. The work was very taxing but through God's grace and your blessings, I have been able to see it through. I need rest which I hope to get in Pilani, although this stay will be rather short. I am glad improvement has been maintained in your health and you are returning on 25th or 26th. I hope to meet you on 6 October latest.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

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New Delhi
14 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose further copies of correspondence with Rajendra Babu.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
14 September 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Please excuse me for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 11th which I got on the 12th. It has been due to the very taxing work of the Assembly and my own rather weak health which prevents work at night.

I am very sorry for the pain and distress that has been caused by my letter. I beg you to bear with me as I explain how the impression which impressed itself in the letter was formed. It was the result of a sequence of events and your letter read in their context.

My attention to the question of the Presidentship was prominently drawn for the first time when I got a message communicated to me through Satyanarayan Babu from Vallabhbhai who was then at Dehra Dun. It was to the effect that something had been published in the Blitz about contest between Rajaji and me and that I should contradict it. Without a moment's hesitation I agreed to issue the contradiction. It so happened that on the same day there was a party in Government House and Rajaji also mentioned the matter and further told me that in some Hindi paper of Jaipur with which Hiralal Shastri was associated had also published something to the same effect. I told him that I had received a message from Vallabhbhai and although I had not seen the Blitz I was going to issue a contradiction and that I would write to Hiralal Shastri also. He advised me that it would be better to show the statement to you before issuing it. I showed you the statement accordingly and sent a copy of it to Rajaji with a note that it had your approval. He wrote in reply and also told me on the phone that it had his approval. The statement was thereafter issued. I had not seen the Blitz and therefore my statement was in general terms. Later when I saw the Blitz I found that it contained very disparaging allegations against Rajaji suggesting that he was manoeuvring to get elected and also said that you and Vallabhbhai were supporting him. Regarding me it said that I would be set aside on the ground of my health. If I had seen the Blitz paper before I issued my statement, it would have been differently framed. As it was, there was no allegation against me which needed contradiction from me and there were serious allegations against our topmost man. After seeing the Blitz I drew the attention of Vallabhbhai to this aspect. He was pleased with my statement and was glad that I had accepted his advice. This happened, I believe, in June last when Vallabhbhai was at Dehra Dun.

After the publication of my statement, some members of the Assembly and some others saw me and inquired what the occasion for the statement was and why I should not fulfil the wishes of a large number of persons if they wanted me to become the President. I told them that I had done the right thing, that there should be and could be no contest between Rajaji and myself, that I had never wanted any position or honour and that they need not interest themselves in the matter and should leave it for the decision of others whose responsibility it was. Nothing further happened except that on more than one occasion other people said the same thing and got the same reply.

You paid a visit to Bombay especially to discuss important questions with Vallabhbhai and soon after your return I got your letter. It started with

impressing the need for clearing our minds regarding the person to be put forward, the undesirability of a contest between top ranking Congressmen, and the rumours in the Press which persisted in spite of my contradiction and mentioned that something like canvassing was going on among members of the Constituent Assembly. You then proceeded to say that you had discussed the matter with Vallabhbhai and that both of you felt that Rajaji should continue for some reasons which you mentioned. You ended with the expression of a hope that I would agree with what you and Vallabhbhai felt, viz, that Rajaji's name should be put forward and suggested that it would be fitting that I should put forward his name.

The effect of the letter and the sequence of events whose context it was, I thought, written, on my mind was that you had not accepted my public statement as genuine, and that perhaps I could stop the canvassing that was going on and that with a view to ending it you and Vallabhbhai had discussed and come to the decision that Rajaji's name should be put forward and that I should fall in line with that and it would be graceful for me to suggest Rajaji's name. I felt hurt that if you had any doubt in your mind that I would be a contestant you could have inquired of me and it would not have been necessary for you to weigh Rajaji and me in scales and find in favour of Rajaji—not because I did not look upon him with respect and even affection and that he should not be preferred if I cared to contest, but that I should be judged when there was no occasion for it. I have laid bare the inner working of my mind and desire to say no more than accept every word of what you write in your letter under reply and offer you my sincerest apologies for the pain caused by that.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

ENCLOSURE II

New Delhi
14 September 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 14 September. I am grateful for what you have written.

When I went to Bombay to see Vallabhbhai, as far as I can remember, your name was not mentioned between us. Certainly this matter was not discussed. I remember of course your speaking to me about this some months ago, showing me your draft statement. It was about that time that I had some talk with Vallabhbhai. I wrote to you this time, because

Satyanarayan and others came to me and said that there was a good deal of talk going on in the party. Also that the very next day the Drafting Committee was considering this matter. My letter was entirely an effort of my own and I do not even exactly remember what I wrote, as I kept no copy. So far as Rajaji is concerned, I have not discussed this matter at all with him in any way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi

Copy to: The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
16 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a complete set of letters that have passed between Jawaharlalji and myself, including one of which I sent you a copy earlier. I may mention that Jawaharlalji had written his first letter in his own handwriting and marked it as also the subsequent letters secret and personal. My letters have also gone to him in my handwriting to preserve secrecy in this delicate matter. The delay in sending you copies has also been due to the same reason.

I hope we shall be closing the present session of the Assembly on Sunday (18 September), and shall have a meeting even on Sunday, if necessary. We propose to begin the next session for completing the second reading on 6 October and the November session for the third reading on 14 November. The Prime Minister is leaving for America on 6 October and not returning till 14 November. We are, therefore, proposing the above programme. I hope it will meet with your approval, as I understand you are returning here long before 6 October and it would make no difference to you whether we commence the session on that date or a day or two this way or that.

I hope your progress is maintained. I was better but have again had a setback. I hope that when the taxing work of the

Assembly is over, I may improve. We have had to sit seven hours a day and may have to do so again tomorrow and the day after.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

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New Delhi
15 September 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

During these last few days, we have had to face any number of difficulties and troubles. I have not written much to you or telephoned to you, partly because I have had little time to do either, but chiefly because I do not wish to trouble you unnecessarily. I know that you have a bad habit of worrying. I do not want to add to your worries. I knew of course that you were kept in touch with events here by Satyanarayan and others.

The language issue was solved ultimately more or less satisfactorily. We have got over the question of the name of the country also. We postponed today the consideration of the transitional provisions, which would have involved the choice of the President of the Republic. You will have to face this issue during the October session and I shall not be here. I believe Rajendra Babu intends fixing 7 October for the session. I have suggested that a party meeting might be held on 4 or 5 October at which I could be present. But it really does not matter. You will be here and the burden will be upon you to pilot these last stages of the Constitution Act.

I have been rather worried over this question of our President. You must have read my correspondence with Rajendra Babu. I had not spoken to Rajaji at all. But when I learnt that there was a good deal of talk and canvassing going on for Rajendra Babu and there was even a possibility of some decision this evening at the party meeting, I decided to speak to Rajaji and put him in touch with developments.

I am told that very active and vigorous canvassing has taken place on this subject and there is a large majority who favour Rajendra Babu. The Biharis of course are in it, the Andhras, a good number of the Tamils. Then generally the protagonists of Hindi favour Rajendra Babu. I was a little surprised to learn that Syama Prasad Mookerjee also favours him.

This is not merely a question of favouring Rajendra Babu, but rather of deliberately keeping Rajaji out. One of the most active agents in this business is Goenka.

I did not tell Rajaji all this, but gave him some rather vague ideas of how events were developing. He said to me that he would rather be out of the picture and that he was somewhat tired of it all. I told him that so far as I was concerned, I wanted him to continue, quite apart from personal reasons, because I thought it was important that a man like him should be there.

My US programme goes on lengthening itself and I find that it will hardly be possible for me to come back to India before 14 November. The third reading for the Constitution Bill, it is suggested, should be from 7 November onwards. If possible I should have liked it to be a week later. But I do not want to upset all arrangements. If this third reading begins on the 14th (Monday), then Parliament can hardly meet much before 28 November. I do not know if there will be enough time for it before Christmas.

The final reply to the UN Commission was given today. We made some changes according to your suggestions. Tonight I had the UN people to dinner here. I understand that they intend going to Geneva within two weeks or so. This is the end of one chapter. Probably they will spend three weeks or more in Geneva and then go to Lake Success.

I am going to the Punjab for three days on Saturday morning, returning on Monday night.

I hope your health continues to improve.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Bombay 6
21 September 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 15 September 1949.

2. I am sorry that you should be having to face these difficulties and troubles while I am away here. I feel so unhappy about it and sometimes curse my own helplessness. However, I am now

returning to Delhi on the 25th and hope to share with you your burdens.

3. I am glad that the language controversy has been solved so satisfactorily and that the choice of the name of the country has not also presented any serious difficulty. I understand that a meeting of the Congress Party has been called on 5 October.

4. As regards the question of President of the Union, I have had a letter from Rajen Babu which is somewhat reassuring. At the same time, as you say, a large majority seems opposed to Rajaji. As you say, Goenka is in it. You know what his relations are with Rajaji and what sort of a man he is. He has been an agent of discontent for some time in the party, although judging from the allegations made against him in connection with the charges made against Madras Ministers, it is quite clear that he is not in a position to point an accusing finger at others. His latest game now is to bring even my name in and to suggest that if I could be persuaded to take up this position, he would withdraw his opposition to Rajaji. I find that this has been canvassed in the Press also. I do not know when our people, particularly the Press lords and the Press, will learn to behave with a sense of responsibility and to maintain the dignity of at least the higher offices. Instead, it seems that no person or position is sacred for them. The most unfortunate part of it is that people are associating Gopalaswami Ayyangar's name with this agitation and are pointing to the relations between him and Goenka. How far there is any truth in this, you can judge for yourself. But the whole atmosphere stinks in my nostrils and I wonder to what depths of intrigues and manoeuvres we have lowered ourselves.

5. The position, therefore, is undoubtedly very complicated. Your correspondence with Rajen Babu has shown that the matters have to be dealt with very tactfully and cautiously. In a way, the situation is rather baffling, but I do hope that the spirit of accommodation and self-denial which has guided us in the past will come to our rescue and we may see some light. We can talk about it when I return.

6. Your visit to the UK and the USA comes at a very crucial time in our history. Both economically and politically, we are faced with problems in which international help and co-operation would definitely be an asset to us. It is my earnest prayer that your visit may secure us this asset. The devaluation of the pound accompanied by the non-devaluation of the Pakistan

rupee, has made matters even worse. It has accentuated both the urgency and the immensity of the problems. Never before was there a greater need for a definiteness of policy and clarity of our objectives. I suggest that before you go, we have an exhaustive exchange of ideas on this and shape our course accordingly. We must, in the next few months, go all out for complete recovery.

7. I am somewhat worried over the evacuee property problems. My information shows that the Pakistan Government are going to cast their net even wider and it is possible that they may define evacuees virtually to include every person who is a national or permanent resident of India and may cover even our public and private companies. This would be disastrous to the interests of non-Muslims in Pakistan and is bound to produce very bitter reactions not only amongst our refugees, but also in the general public. It might also have an adverse effect on communal relations.

8. I am leaving Bombay on the 24th morning for Ahmedabad. I want to see my old friend Dr. Kanuga at Ahmedabad. He has been ailing for a long time and is merely counting his days. I shall be leaving Ahmedabad for Delhi on the 25th morning reaching Willingdon aerodrome at about 10.50 a.m. You will probably be in Srinagar that day, but we can meet and discuss our problems some time on the 26th.

9. There has been general improvement in my health since you saw me last, but lately there were two or three attacks of cold; whether on account of the change in the climatic condition or as a reaction to some mercury injections, which have been prescribed, is not definite. That has not, however, affected the improvement in the general condition.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

Bajajwadi
Wardha

12 December 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a long letter from Jawaharlalji. It appears from the letter that he has had some talk with you. I am enclosing copy of my reply. You might have seen the letter to me. If not and if you desire I shall send you a copy. The substance of the portion dealing with this question is that he has had a talk with Rajaji, who feels embarrassed and wants an early decision. He is anxious to retire to his village and the only consideration for him was whether his colleagues and his duty demanded something else. He would gladly issue a statement about retiring himself, if his colleagues so desired. Jawaharlalji wants my advice in the matter and says that he has written the letter after consulting you and Maulana [Azad].

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE I

New Delhi
8 December 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Before you left Delhi I had occasion to have two talks with you about the general situation and about certain particular matters. As I look round the scene in India, I am alarmed and distressed at many developments that are taking place. I am not normally depressed for any length of time. But I cannot rid myself of the heavy responsibilities that fate and circumstance have thrust upon me. If anything goes wrong, in some measure at least, the responsibility for that must be borne by me as Prime Minister.

Of course, no individual can shoulder this responsibility by himself. During the past years this responsibility, so far as the Congress was concerned, was born chiefly by limited number of persons. During Bapu's life, we

all looked to him and if we could get his approval to any course of action, we felt assured and went ahead. Since his death, it has been much more difficult. But even so some of us, who form the old guard of the Congress, faced and shared this responsibility whatever the position or office we occupied. Practically speaking, and with no disrespect to others, the men who in practice shouldered this burden were yourself, Rajaji, Maulana and Vallabhbhai. We functioned in somewhat different spheres of activity and did not have the opportunity to consult each other as often as we used to, but whether we wanted or not, we could not get rid of this burden. It came to us partly from our assumption of office, but much more so from the position we had occupied for three decades in the Congress movement. So even if we resigned from any particular office, we could not escape from this responsibility. That was a charge laid upon us by the whole course of India's development and struggle of the past generation. The memory of Bapu demanded that we should carry on this work to the best of our ability. The confidence of the people also made us the prisoners of our tasks. For whether we were criticized as a Government or in any other capacity or not, the fact is that the public generally have looked up to us five persons much more than to anyone else in India.

What do we see around us now? I do not refer to the difficult economic situation that we have to face. That of course is important and urgent enough. But what distresses me even more is the cracking up, with great rapidity, of the noble structure that Bapu built. With all its failings, the Congress represented the spirit and mind of India and I do not see anything else that can take its place without disrupting the country and bringing chaos and suffering.

This Congress is simply fading away before our eyes. Even a fading might have been tolerated, but something worse is happening. There is no discipline left, no sense of common effort, no co-operation, no attempt at constructive effort (apart from a few), and our energies are concentrated in disruption and destruction.

I would not mind all this very much if I knew that some other fairly competent group could run the country for a while. It would do good to the Congress and to us individually to be free of the turmoils and responsibility of office and to devote ourselves to other kinds of work among the people. I am not afraid of losing the election. But I just do not see any other group which can run the country with even a moderate degree of success. The alternative to the Congress is thus nowhere to be seen, or at any rate any effective alternative. If the Congress goes out of the picture, the result is the growth of innumerable factions who fight each other regardless of the country's good. We shall then have separatisms in every form, provincialism, communalism, apart from all kinds of splinter groups sailing under the name of

socialism and communism. In addition to this, we shall have internal provincial conflicts which come in the way of every kind of effective work.

We all see what is happening in West Bengal and in East Punjab. That seems to me the precursor of what might happen in every part of India, with this difference that there will be no effective Central authority, whether Government or Congress, to exercise any degree of control. Politically, economically and socially we shall just go to pieces. No doubt, some time or other India will pull herself together again. How long that process will take, no man knows and meanwhile there will be terrible suffering for our people and reaction in its worst form will triumph. That is not pretty to look at or think about.

Some of our older colleagues in the Congress have become more bitter than even avowed enemies. I am told that some weeks ago a Sarvodaya conference was held at Wardha and some of the speeches delivered there were bitter in the extreme. A week or so ago a meeting was held in Calcutta in the Indian Association room presumably to consider peasantry problems. J. C. Kumarappa¹ presided and Profulla Ghosh and others of his group were present. Kumarappa and Profulla Ghosh delivered fiery speeches not only against the Central Government and the West Bengal Government but also calling upon the peasantry to follow the scorched earth policy so as to prevent procurement of grain, the objective being just to create more trouble for the governments and bring them down. Do you remember what Bapu's views were when a scorched earth policy was suggested by the then Government against a possible Japanese invasion? He was dead opposed to it even against an avowed enemy invading the country; and now our own colleagues propose to start this campaign because of their disgust with the present Governments. We can well imagine the consequences of such a policy and the terrible suffering that this will bring to the peasantry. And this policy is being recommended by a colleague of ours in the Working Committee and others who are considered as noted disciples of Bapu.

Prominent Karnataka Congress leaders have resigned on a linguistic province issue. Here again, a colleague of ours in the Working Committee is involved.

In the United Province Purushottam Das Tandon,² who combines in himself the Speakership as well as the Presidency of the Provincial Congress Committee, has started a new organisation of refugees to fight Government. He

¹ Convener of Congress Select Committee which issued a report on financial obligations between Great Britain and India, July 1931; President, All India Village Industries Association, 1934-54; Chairman, Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, 1948-49

² Speaker of UP Assembly, 1937-39; Member of Constituent Assembly; Congress President, 1950

has invited members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS to join it. The other day he asked for a hartal in Lucknow. The Local Congress asked the people not to observe a hartal. Is not all this quite fantastic and Gilbertian? Where is the Congress now? If a Government fails, it is a bad thing. But after all governments can be made and remade. But if the Congress goes to pieces, what takes its place? I just do not know what we are heading for.

I have put all this picture before you and I could dilate upon it. But you know the state of affairs in the country better than I do. I come back to what my individual duty is in the circumstances and what our corporate duty is—our meaning five of us, you, Rajaji, Vallabhbhai, Maulana and myself. At least we should try to meet this situation, functioning together. We are few of us and a very great responsibility is cast upon us. I should have liked all five of us to meet not once but several times to discuss this situation in all its aspects and to come to some conclusion about it. Previously we used to do it in the Working Committee. But somehow the Working Committee functions differently now and spends all its time over some trivial detail or other. Major questions, even the most important question for it of the Congress organisation, are hardly considered. Even the constitution of the Working Committee at present does not help an intimate discussion. Meanwhile the sands of time run out and we go merrily forward to whatever catastrophe or disorder may lie in wait for us.

This afternoon Vallabhbhai, Maulana and I sat for some time discussing these problems. Naturally we could not produce any magic solution or brilliant suggestion. But if a problem is not tackled, it tries to solve itself in its own peculiar way which may not be at all happy. So I suppose things are moving in India to some kind of a climax while people's minds are engrossed in petty quarrels and minor objectives.

The major question before us I think is the future of the Congress. We have to be clear in our own minds about it and to throw all our weight in the direction that we consider right. We have allowed this drift to continue too long and perhaps it is already too late to do anything. Still we must do our best. That involves not only the whole state of the Congress organisation (or disorganisation) today but also the question of the next Congress President and the next Working Committee. These are important matters for much depends upon them.

I mentioned to you when you were here the probability of our having a planning committee or commission of a high order. I shall not repeat what I said about it then. You told me that you did not feel that you could take charge of any such commission. I accept your decision about it if you feel that way.

Then comes the question of the President of the Republic. Obviously this has to be decided fairly soon. It is inconceivable that we should go to a

contested election on the very eve of the change-over. Even the timing is such that this cannot be done in that way. But apart from the timing it would be an unseemly sight for the country and for the Congress for two of our most eminent leaders to contest against each other. That, we are agreed, cannot happen. If that is so, then a clear decision must be arrived at long before the actual formal election, a decision not only [in] our minds but something that can be made public to avoid unseemly controversy and argument which would shatter the remaining edifice of the Congress. What then can we do? It is patent that there are only two persons who might be chosen as President of the Republic—yourself and Rajaji. There is no other. These two have all along belonged to that inner group of the Congress consisting of just a very few. One of these two should, it seems to me, take the initiative in declaring that he will not stand for the Presidency. That is the only way of avoiding a last-minute contest and ill effects on the public mind. Thus the only course open is either for Rajaji to make such a declaration or for you to make it.

Two days ago I happened to see Rajaji about another matter. He told me that he felt very embarrassed. He himself was anxious to retire to his village and the only consideration for him was whether his colleagues and his duty demanded something else. In any event, he said that this matter must be decided in consultation with his colleagues before many days were over. He would gladly issue a statement about retiring himself, if his colleagues so desired. Thus an element of urgency comes into this matter and indeed the time element itself brings urgency. I should be very grateful if you could advise me in this matter. I am writing to you after consulting Vallabhbhai and Maulana. Naturally I have not told Rajaji about this. Nor indeed have I discussed the matter at all fully with him. When he mentioned it, I merely said that I agreed with him that a decision should be made fairly soon.

You and I and Vallabhbhai have had some talks about this. It is not necessary to repeat them and to cover the same ground. I think, on the whole, we know each other's minds. The time has come for a decision and so I am taking the liberty of writing this long letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Sevagram
Wardha, CP

ENCLOSURE II

Bajajwadi

Wardha

12 December 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I received your letter dated 8-12-49 only last night. I agree with you regarding the analysis of the situation as it exists today. It is really tragic that we should have to see the great institution which has been built up with the devoted service and sacrifice of so many of the best men and women of the country disintegrating before our eyes, and that so soon after the passing away of Bapu. But this disintegration also shows how skin-deep our attachment to the principles which we have mouthed so loudly and our loyalty to Bapu whose name we are never tired of invoking have been. It may be worthwhile going into the causes which have brought about this unfortunate pass and I may do so if you may permit me later in another letter. For the moment let me confine myself to the question of the Presidentship of the Republic and the Presidentship of the Congress.

I agree that a decision regarding the Presidentship of the Republic should be taken without any further delay and if I can in any way help I am perfectly willing and prepared to render such help as I can. It is in this spirit that I am writing this. No one can say—certainly I cannot say—that my election as President of the Congress or of the Republic will help in arresting the disintegration that we all deplore. For some reason or other—justified or wholly wrong—there is a considerable opinion among the members of the Assembly who insist on my accepting the Presidentship of the Republic. From what I have gathered from the talk with the various persons who have come and seen me in this connection, it appears my not accepting the offer will be looked upon by them as a 'betrayal'. They have used that expression and told me that I should not 'betray' them or 'let them down'. I have on every such occasion protested that there is no question of betrayal or letting down as I have never put myself forward as a candidate or sought their assistance but they say that they would look upon it as a betrayal of the country. I am not concerned with the right or wrong of the position. I am only expressing what has been communicated to me as their feeling. This has been confirmed by letters which I have received from persons unconnected with the Assembly or its politics. The inference that I draw from this is that the election of Rajaji will not be smooth even if I were to withdraw and propose his name. Further, it may still further complicate the position and accelerate the

disintegration which may affect even the centre which has unfortunately so far been comparatively speaking immune. While all this is to be said on one side I must not conceal from you my feeling that I find myself in a most difficult situation. I have genuine regard for Rajaji and my relations with him have always been of the sweetest and I cannot suppress the feeling that I may be misunderstood and regarded as putting forward excuses for not withdrawing, as if I really am anxious to get the high honour. All that I can say is that I have searched my heart as best as I can to see if there is a lurking desire somewhere and I can say today honestly to you that there is none. On the other hand I feel that any action which I take today which is not in consonance with the will of the Assembly will be regarded by many of its members as having been dictated by you and Sardar and all my protestations to the contrary will be disregarded, and this feeling, as I have said above, is likely to further complicate the position in the centre. But all this is my view and may all be wrong. You and Sardar are in a better position to judge and also to ascertain whether my reading of the temper of the Assembly is correct. I shall be happy if it is found to be incorrect. I leave the matter there and wish you, Sardar and Maulana Sahib to meet and decide as you think best. I can only assure you that I shall not misunderstand any decision that you take and will loyally work as I have ever done in the past.

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister, India
New Delhi

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Camp Pilani
18 December 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 12 December 1949.

You know Jawaharlal's views. You can guess what Maulana feels. In other words, you have placed the burden—and a heavy burden at that—on me. I really do not know what to do. Jawaharlal tells me that he will discuss it with me on my return.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President
Constituent Assembly
Bajajwadi
Wardha

7 Electric Lane
New Delhi
25 December 1949

Respected Sardarji,

Please excuse me for addressing this letter to you. I would not have intruded on your very valuable time had I not been impelled to do so by a sense of duty and responsibility with respect to the very momentous decision that the Congress Party has to take in the matter of electing the first President of the Indian Republic.

After a great deal of anxious thought I have come to the conclusion that I must seek your permission to propose you as the first President of the Republic.

I am aware that you took upon yourself and your colleagues to decide amongst yourselves as to who should be put up as the candidate for that highest post in the land. Still I cannot help offering my humble suggestion for your careful consideration.

I cannot conceive of a worthier, stronger, more effective and more dignified combination than yourself being associated as the Head of the State with Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister which he already is.

Your great strength and power is to be utilized not for guiding the decisions of the Cabinet as is the case in the present set-up but for influencing them from a position of the highest dignity in the land after a careful scrutiny of every important thing that the State has to see through. Your thought and energy should not be taxed by day-to-day file work or the less important details of the procedural matters of the legislatures. Your indomitable will has to shape the nation's destiny by generating a force outside the Cabinet so that it may steer clear through many a stormy weather that is ahead of us. Your judgment should have the scope of a second sifting for the things that the Cabinet decides either by virtue of the post that you will hold or of the position that you will occupy.

I firmly believe that such an orientation as I have indicated above will create the highest amount of confidence in the Government not only in this country but all the world over and

there cannot be a better guarantee for the peace and prosperity of the people at this critical juncture of our national life.

I must also frankly express my anxiety over your failing health. If you have to be in the harness and there is no way out you must have to be spared the toil of the vigorous life of a minister and have to be given a *more peaceful and less arduous* task as I have proposed.

You may very naturally be anxious for the proper utilization of a few other talents (which unfortunately we do not possess in abundance), even assigning to yourself a much inferior position and not claiming one in which your claim can be indisputable. But I have no doubt that if we can fulfil the need of the hour in the most suitable manner things will settle themselves without any loss to our assets.

I am confident that my feelings are shared by many of our friends in the party and in the country at large. I, therefore, beseech you to accept my humble suggestion.

I pray that my views may find a response [in] your heart. I hope you will very kindly permit me to bring a formal proposal before the party for their acceptance.

Yours truly,
B. K. Das

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
27 December 1949

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 25 December 1949. I am deeply touched by the sentiments which you have expressed. The honour of being the first President of the Indian Republic should be reserved for broader shoulders than my own. Everybody must be content with serving the country from a position which is assigned to him and where he can give of his best. I am quite content with mine. I hope, in these circumstances, you will give up the idea of nominating me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Basanta Kumar Das, MCA
7 Electric Lane
New Delhi

New Delhi
9 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a great mind to come over to Dehra Dun this week-end to consult you with regard to one or two matters. But the Drafting Committee meets day after day and it is not possible for me to come.

Mr. Deshabandhu Gupta, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and others were considering the question of Commissioner's provinces particularly the province of Delhi. They also had a talk with me. I promised to give them a note setting in my views in the matter, which I have done. I am sending you a copy of the note prepared by me. I should have very much liked to discuss this matter before the matter comes up before the party for discussion. I shall do my best to have it postponed till I have a consultation with you.

The Home Department sent the amended draft of Art. 188 on the lines of old Sec. 93. Dr. Ambedkar has strong objection to the proposal and Mr. Mookherjee is now drafting something on the lines suggested by him. This matter would best be dealt with after you come to Delhi.

The Drafting Committee is also meeting the representatives of the States Ministry with a view to find out on what lines to draft the provisions relating to the States. After the preliminary discussion on Saturday it would be necessary to have an early consultation with you.

Give my kind regards to Maniben.

Hope you are getting good rest at Dehra Dun.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

Dehra Dun
18 June 1949

My dear Munshi,

Thank you for your letter of 9 June.

Now that the Constituent Assembly has adjourned, we should utilize the recess to consolidate our views both on the work that has already been done by the Constituent Assembly as well as that which remains to be done. I am quite sure that, if we examine the amendments which have been passed by the Constituent Assembly so far, we shall find some important matters which require reconsideration, particularly in regard to the constitution of the judiciary, both Supreme and Provincial.

As regards Delhi, the problem is not so easy. As it is, the Chief Commissioner's job is most unenviable. He has got so many masters in the Government of India. If you add to it a dyarchical system of government, the failure of which is writ large in history, you are creating almost impossible difficulties for him and for the future Government. After all, you have got to remember that the administration in Delhi is not irresponsible. It is finally responsible to the Central Legislature and, in future when the Legislature meets frequently, the occasions for ventilating local grievances would be many and, I am sure, could be utilized successfully. We have to avoid making Delhi a big financial burden to the Centre, but the net result of your scheme will be to saddle the Centre with a heavy load of expenditure on Delhi province. It cannot afford an independent High Court. As regards the police, I have already sanctioned proposals for a Central cadre of Police for Chief Commissioner's provinces, and not for Delhi alone. Delhi is too small an area to afford an independent cadre. We have already decided that there should be a Circuit High Court in Delhi. Neither magistracy nor judiciary is, in future, going to be linked exclusively to Punjab. We have decided that the personnel should be supplied half and half by UP and Punjab. This would ensure that what you might call "Punjab traditions" do not monopolize Delhi.

As regards old Section 93, how can Dr. Ambedkar object to the proposal? There is a Cabinet decision that the Home

Ministry should draft proposals and send it to the Law Minister for being put through as amendments.

Let me know when you can come to Dehra Dun and I shall let you know whether that would be suitable. I myself would like to discuss this, but before you come, you might send me an up-to-date amended copy of the Draft Constitution so that I may know what the present position is. I shall study it and then ask you to come here so that we can discuss.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. M. Munshi
Member, Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

New Delhi
11 June 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

You may remember, although not in detail, that certain provisions relating to my community were accepted by the Advisory Committee, passed by the Congress Party and adopted in the Draft Constitution. Unfortunately, several amendments have been tabled in respect of all the four provisions relating to Anglo-Indians. These amendments range from complete abolition to various degrees of curtailment.

Article 293

According to this provision the President may nominate not more than two members of my community to the House of the People. Certain amendments seek to withdraw this provision altogether or to reduce the number to one. As it is the word 'may' is used in the provision. Complete discretion has been given to the President as to whether he will nominate one or two or any. The use of this word was put in at your suggestion and on your suggestion to me to trust the discretion of those in power. I cannot, therefore, understand why in spite of the use of the word 'may' amendments should be tabled seeking to reduce the number from two to one.

Article 295

This article gives discretion to the Governors of the States to nominate representatives of the community in the Legislatures of the States if the community is not deemed to be adequately represented. Once again, the use of the word 'may' has left the matter entirely in the discretion of the Governors. In spite of this, amendments have been tabled seeking further to cut down the implications of the section.

Article 297

According to this provision quotas, in certain services, have been granted to the community; but at intervals of two years there shall be a 10% reduction so that at the end of 10 years these reservations will cease. Amendments have now been tabled to make this section operative with retrospective effect. Whereas the provision contemplates implementation from the date on which the Constitution comes into operation, the amendments seek to make this provision operative from 15 August 1947.

Article 298

According to this provision the educational grants made for the benefit of the community may be reduced by 10% at intervals of three years. This is a very vital provision to my community. Anglo-Indian schools in fact cater, in most provinces, predominantly for members of other communities. These schools are recognized by educationists, of all communities, as serving a valuable purpose in the scheme of national education. Amendments have been tabled seeking to make this provision operative with retrospective effect from 1948.

I believe the Constitution is being applied, after their consent has been secured, to what were formerly Indian States. About the largest concentration of Anglo-Indians is to be found in Mysore in places like Bangalore, Kolar Gold Fields and other centres. Apart from representation which the community used to receive, there are many valuable educational institutions of a first class character in the State. I have moved an amendment seeking to make Articles 295 and 298 apply to Mysore State.

I earnestly request your final assistance on the matters raised by me for which I know the community will be deeply grateful to you,

Thanking you and with my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Frank Anthony¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel
Dehra Dun

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
14 June 1949

Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
Dehra Dun

ARTICLES 297 AND 298 BEING CONSIDERED AT PARTY MEETING THIS EVENING. EARNESTLY REQUEST YOUR INTERVENTION TO PREVENT CURTAILMENT. ALSO EARNESTLY REQUEST ADOPTION OF MY AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 298 TO INCLUDE MYSORE STATE. EXPLANATORY LETTER SENT ELEVENTH. THANKS.

FRANK ANTHONY

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Camp Doon Court
Dehra Dun
14 June 1949

My dear Anthony,

Thank you for your letter of 11 June and telegram of the 14th.

2. I have had a talk with the Prime Minister and you can rest assured that no change will be made in the provisions which have already been agreed to.

3. As regards Mysore, the question will come up for consideration when we consider what provision should be applied to the States and in what manner.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Frank Anthony, Esq. MCA, Bar-at-Law
The All India Anglo-Indian Association
New Delhi

¹ President, Anglo-Indian Association; member of CA; nominated member of Lok Sabha since 1952

17 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Regarding the Food Commissioner I have given a great deal of thought to this matter. I feel he must not be an official—I can think of no really outstanding man—official or non-official—for this job. To drag away a man who is working as a Minister in a Provincial Cabinet is not worthwhile, unless he is really outstanding.

Having considered all these factors, I feel that among available persons Mohanlal Gautam¹ is the most suitable. He has drive and organizing capacity and a good way of dealing with people. He knows how to get on with the peasantry. I mentioned his name to some members of the Economic Committee—Matthai, Neogy and Gopalaswamy; they reacted favourably and on the whole approved of it. I mentioned it separately to Jairamdas. He said he would like to think over it but on the whole he seemed agreeable.

If we agree, Mohanlal Gautam could be appointed Deputy Minister and Food Commissioner with special executive powers.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

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New Delhi
20 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

About the Food Commissioner, since you spoke to me I have dropped the name I mentioned. I had a talk with Jairamdas [Doulattram] today and told him so. I am afraid a business man will not create a favourable impression even though he might have had some previous experience of farming.

I discussed this question with Rajaji today. He made an unusual suggestion. The name he mentioned was that of Kala

¹ General Secretary, UPPCC, 1930 and 1948, member, UP Legislative Assembly, 1937; member, GA, 1947; Minister for Local Self-Government, UP; member, Rajya Sabha

Venkata Rao. He said that Venkata Rao had done well as Minister in Madras and was a man of resource and energy. I am attracted to this proposal. I am sure Pattabhi will resist it but perhaps we can get over that.

I have not mentioned this to any one yet, not even Jairamdas. Could you please let me have your views?

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Dehra Dun
21 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 20 June 1949.

Kala Venkata Rao is a good choice and should do, but you have to think of the matter in the light of the position which I give below. There are allegations against the Madras Ministry which are the subject of an enquiry by Shankarrao Deo.¹ Kala Venkata Rao is one of them. From this point of view, I would suggest your waiting until Shankarrao Deo has submitted his report. I do not think anything will be proved against him, but prudence dictates that we should wait for it.

Kala Venkata Rao, I find, is the only one in the Congress office who has got a balanced approach to the problems, who has had experience of administration and who has an organizing capacity and at the same time who can devote his whole-time attention to the organizational problems of the Congress.

Shankarrao Deo is busy with extra-office activities and perhaps has not as much time as he should give to organizational work.

If, in spite of the need for the presence of such a person in the organization, you feel you should draft him for this work, I have no objection.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ Member, AICC and Working Committee, of Congress; Chairman, Reception Committee, Faizpur Congress, 1936; member of CA from Bombay

New Delhi
29 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

[R. K.] Patil, CP Food Minister, arrived here this afternoon. I have had a talk with him and he has also met Jairamdas. Jairamdas is laid up because of a bad foot and he could not come to the Cabinet meeting today.

I am favourably impressed by Patil. He seems to have energy and ideas. He appears to be agreeable to coming here, but wants a few days to consult some friends before he gives his final answer. Shuklaji¹ has written to me that he would gladly spare him, if we want him. I hope that you will also press Patil to come here. I should like to make the announcement as soon as possible. However it does not very much matter if it is delayed by a week or so. In any event he will take some time to wind up his affairs in Nagpur.

We have not gone into the question of the set-up of the Food Commissioner here, his powers, etc. We have vaguely said that he will be given large powers. I think that we should make it perfectly clear in Cabinet that he will have these large powers. He will of course be under the Minister. But that should not mean that he cannot function without the Minister's approval at every stage. I have suggested to Patil that he should start in a relatively small way, so far as staff is concerned. If necessity arises, he can add to it. Probably it will be best to transfer to him a Joint Secretary who is already functioning in Agriculture. In fact most of the work of the Agriculture Ministry is food production. In particular we must devise a set-up in which the normal secretarial routine does not come in the way.

¹ Pandit Ravshankar Shukla: Entered Legislative Council of Central Provinces in 1923 as member of Swaraj Party; Minister of Education, July 1937; Premier, August, 1938; Chief Minister of CP after Independence and later of reformed State of Madhya Pradesh until his death in 1956

I have not spoken to Patil about the salary he would draw here. What do you suggest? It cannot be less than 2,000 and it must not be more than 2,500. No allowances or house rent, etc.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
30 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of today's date which Patil brought. We have decided to make the announcement of his appointment day after tomorrow, Saturday morning. We shall call him Commissioner of Food Production. He will return to Delhi after about a week or so and take charge. We shall have to define his powers fairly carefully, but this can be done later.

I have finally fixed up about my going to Calcutta. Certainly we should do something drastic. But the problem is far more than a law and order one. Syama Prasad will probably give you an account of his visit to Calcutta. There is no doubt in my mind that there is grave dissatisfaction against the Ministry, more especially against the Civil Supplies Department. Whether that dissatisfaction has any real basis behind it or not, I do not know. I do not myself see how we can carry on with that Ministry as it is, when there is so much public condemnation. In any event there should be some kind of an enquiry into the Civil Supplies Department. You can hardly have an enquiry into a Minister's conduct while that Minister continues. All this will have to be considered by us before I go. Then there is the Congress aspect in Calcutta. That had better be dealt with at the Working Committee meeting.

I understand that the Bihar Member of the Board of Revenue, Bakshi, who was connected with Bettiah Estate, has been removed by the Bihar Government from his office and given some out of the way job. He is fed up and wants to leave the province. He is supposed to be, I believe, a good officer. This Bihar business will have to be dealt with firmly pretty soon. I hope that your enquiries will conclude before the Working Committee meets, so that your recommendation might be considered by it.

As for the Socialists, they continue to show an amazing lack of responsibility and constructive bent of mind. They seem to be all frustrated and going mentally to pieces. When I wrote to you about Lohia¹ and his people in prison, I did so not so much because of their importance in the scheme of things in India at present, or because any particular individuals should be specially catered for. I have been thinking of a much larger issue—our whole policy in such matters. I think that some revision of that should be considered. That is why I welcomed your suggestion to let out some prominent people.

Lohia's conviction for a relatively trivial offence rather brings out that policy and reactions are not favourable to us. For instance, this afternoon I met a very well-known American journalist, who is passing through Delhi and whom the American Ambassador sent to me. *One of his remarks to me was that he was surprised to see that we had sent a number of socialists to prison. He asked me why we had done so. I gave him what I thought was an adequate reply. I feel sure that the continuation of Lohia and company in prison will do us no good and will somewhat harm our reputation abroad as well as here, while our releasing them soon will have a good effect. This has little to do with Lohia or the socialists, but rather with our general approach and the reactions in the public of that approach.*

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

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New Delhi
11 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

About R. K. Patil you suggest that he might continue to remain a member of the CP Legislative Assembly. I do not myself see how this can be done in law, unless he is prepared to work here in an honorary capacity. Apart from this, I do not see any particular advantage in it. As Commissioner for Food Production he is likely to remain here at least for a year and a

¹ Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia: Founder, Socialist Party of India; former General Secretary, Praja-Socialist Party; member, Lok Sabha, 1967

half when the general elections take place. He will thus not be in a position to act as a member of the CP Assembly.

The fact that he takes up any kind of special office for a while does not put him in the category of our permanent officials. He can at any moment revert.

Anyhow, we can discuss this matter when you are here.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

200

Dehra Dun
12 July 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 July 1949, regarding R. K. Patil.

On further consideration, I agree with you that it will not be possible for him to continue as an MLA so long as he occupies the post of Commissioner for Food Production. Since he is taking up the appointment tomorrow, if an ordinance had to issue it should have issued today. I have, therefore, told Shuklaji on the telephone that no such ordinance is necessary. Dwarka Prasad Mishra,¹ who was here, has assured me that should Patil at any time revert to CP, they would do their best to accommodate him.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ MLA (Central); Home Minister, CP, 1937-39; member, GWC, 1950; VC of Saugar University, 1956-61; Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, 1963-67; member, Central Parliamentary Board, Congress Working Committee

Dehra Dun
19 June 1949

My dear Balasaheb,

I am sending herewith a letter which I have received from Shri Purushottamdas Tandon. Viyogi Hariji and Anand Kausalyayanji have also seen me. I feel that until the language question is decided the status quo might be maintained. It is no use raising a fresh controversy. We have already more than we ever bargained for. I would, therefore, advise you against any change.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Balasaheb Kher
Premier
Bombay

Bombay
23 June 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

In your letter of the 19th instant you write advising against any change in the matter of the recognition of Hindi examinations by the Bombay Government. The letter of Shri Purushottamdas Tandon which you enclose refers to some discussions in the Hindustani Board, which is an advisory board set up by the Bombay Government over 10 years ago. It is a purely advisory board and its recommendations on the subject referred to have still to reach Government. We have, however, already followed firmly the line not to make any change of substance in the present position, pending decision by the Constituent Assembly on the national languages. Indeed, if anything, the charge levied against us in this sphere is of inaction. The Bombay Government will not accept the advice of the Hindustani Board if it does recommend any radical change at this juncture. Thus our course is already in line with your advice.

I trust your health is good and that you find Dehra Dun agreeable.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

203

New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from [J. B.] Kripalani. This was waiting for me here. Before I went to Dehra Dun, some members of the Constituent Assembly spoke and wrote to me on this subject. There was some feeling that the steps taken were in excess of requirements and were creating needless ill-will against the Government. This business of going in procession to an Ambassador's house to present a request or a demand is evidently copied from what happens sometimes in foreign countries. Normally, the police just stops them or allows one or two persons to go and present their request. They do not arrest them unless they are violent, and even when arrested, they usually release them the same day or the next day without proceeding against them.

It is, I think, generally admitted that [Dr. Ram Manohar] Lohia in taking a procession like this was acting very wrongly and irresponsibly. But a certain feeling of sympathy for him and his companions is widespread now because it is thought that they have been dealt with far too severely. I should like you to give thought to this matter. In the prevailing atmosphere of growth of ill-will against the Government it is worthwhile our going slow and not producing the impression of punishing people too heavily for rather trivial offences.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
11 June 1949

My dear Jawahar,

I have been thinking of writing to you about the trial of Dr. Lohia and his companions. I have hesitated because I was not quite sure if you will not take it as an intrusion. However, I am risking it.

I think the tear-gas business was a little in excess of what the situation demanded. The demonstrators could have been arrested. Under Lohia's lead I think they would not have resisted arrest. After arrest I thought they would be released the next morning. I did not expect a trial after the tear-gas and the arrest for what after all is a technical offence under ordinary circumstances.

I feel that the trial and the continued detention of Lohia and his party will be of no advantage to the authorities. They are giving the affair an importance that it does not deserve. I may tell you that I do not approve of Lohia's conduct and I have told him so. If it is not too late and if it is not a question of prestige or if it is only a question of prestige, I think that the case should be withdrawn and they should be released. My analysis may be wrong but I have ventured to place my views before you. I hope you will not mind.

With regards,

Yours as ever,
Jivet
[J. B. Kripalani]

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Dehra Dun
18 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 June 1949. I have also seen a copy of Pai's letter to Shankar Prasada¹ dated 9 June 1949.

¹ ICS; Magistrate and Collector, Meerut, 1946-47; Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, 1947-48; Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1949-54; Secretary, Kashmir Affairs Government of India, 1958-65

With the first letter you have enclosed Kripalani's letter to you about Ram Manohar Lohia. I have had a talk with Shankar Prasada, whom I had called to Dehra Dun today. As you know, an order under Sec. 144 is already in force throughout Delhi banning meetings and processions except with the permission of the District Magistrate. In this case, the Socialists applied for permission to hold a meeting, but not for the procession. The meeting was allowed. It was at 3 p.m. On the day of the meeting the District Magistrate received an intimation that a procession was also to be taken to Barakhambha Road. The District Magistrate said that he could not allow the procession. Nevertheless, after the meeting, it was decided to take [out] a procession, and in spite of remonstrations and persuasions by the police officers present, a procession was taken out. It attracted a large gathering, so that by the time it reached Barakhambha Road, a few thousand people had gathered. The slogans raised by the processionists as well as announced on the placards were objectionable. One of them attributed a reign of loot, rape and terror in Nepal. The local authorities, I think, were right in apprehending breach of the peace and indignity to the Embassy. This, I am sure you will agree, would have been most unfortunate. They, therefore, decided that the procession should not be allowed to proceed further and should be dispersed.

To arrest a small number in such a big gathering is always fraught with serious risks. The police decided not to take such risks. We are always asked by non-officials to use tear-gas before dispersing a crowd by force. The police did that, and the crowd dispersed.

There is some force in the contention that the matter could have been less seriously taken notice of. But consistent with the attitude we took when the Sikhs wanted to stage processions and other bodies also which have tried to do the same, it is difficult for the local administration to allow a particular party to flout authority at will. You will recall that, rather than help us by taking a reasonable attitude after the incident, the Socialists started making somewhat wild allegations against the police. The Chief Commissioner, therefore, felt that the law should be allowed to take its course. The case has now reached finality, and I understand that in a day or two the final hearing will be held and the case concluded.

I do not think it would be wise at this stage to interfere with the course of justice. If anything, this would create rather an

unfortunate impression in the diplomatic colony that protest demonstrations of this description could be held without any consequences for the holders of those demonstrations. Ram Manohar Lohia has said in his statement that the idea was to seek permission from the Embassy to receive a few men in order that the resolution may be communicated. With such a crowd at the back and tempers roused, it would have been a rash act to allow anybody to get inside the Embassy, because, in the event of any Embassy staff being manhandled or of matters getting out of the control of the protection personnel, there might have been retaliation and counter-retaliation. Any such incident would have affected the diplomats most adversely. I am sure the matters could not have rested with one Embassy alone. In all these circumstances, I feel that the best course would be to let the law be vindicated. After the judgment is pronounced, we would consider what action could be taken, in view of the circumstances which you have pointed out.

As regards the second letter, the whole question turns on the jail rules. In so far as the jail rules allow discretion, I agree that the jail authorities should behave with consideration and imagination, but it is obviously impossible for them to go beyond the rules. I understand from Shankar Prasada that the jail rules for under-trials are quite liberal and that, even though they are so, in so far as it was permissible under the rules, they have given Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and his colleagues as much latitude as possible. He will write to you details separately. There is no doubt, however, that incidents like Matthai's seeing Ram Manohar Lohia in jail, followed by the visit of Acharya Kripalani and Sucheta,¹ are contributory to rousing public sympathy. Naturally, every one concludes that, when our own ranks weaken in their attitude, there must be something wrong. In this particular case, initially the matters were rather made worse because of the wrong impression created that Matthai went there as your representative or on your behalf.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹Sucheta Kripalani: Wife of Acharya J. B. Kripalani, member, CA, 1946; member, CWC, 1950-52; Lok Sabha, 1952-62; Chief Minister, UP, October 1963 to March 1967

New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 18 June about Lohia's case. The facts of this case are well known and are not disputed. There is also a general disapproval of Lohia's action. But I find that this general disapproval has now taken the place of a widespread sympathy—not for his action but because of the prolonged proceedings and detentions in prison for over a month for a relatively trivial offence. People unconnected with politics have come to me and asked me why we are continuing this matter. It is being given publicity daily and exciting sympathy. Normally such offences are lightly treated in foreign countries and we are going much further than is usually done. You must have seen the article in the New Statesman. That was not a balanced article but it represents a widespread feeling in progressive circles in England. Our Government is considered more and more as a police State indulging in detentions, police actions and our reputation is fairly low abroad.

You refer to Matthai's visit to prison. He did not go as my representative but he had informed me of it and I saw no reason to object or to limit his freedom. Indu¹ wanted to go also and I told her that she was free to do so if she so wished. She did not actually go. I would not have stopped her even if I thoroughly disapproved of her going. My own information is that Matthai's visit had very good results. It showed that while we took action on the part of Government because of a breach of the law, there was nothing personal about it.

We are rapidly getting out of touch with public opinion and becoming just a Government and nothing more. An extreme development of this is Calcutta. But even in Delhi the Congress

¹ Mrs. Indira Gandhi: Daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; was actively associated with freedom struggle, courted imprisonment with her husband during Quit India movement, 1942; worked under Mahatma Gandhi's direction in riot-affected areas of Delhi, 1947; was Nehru's hostess and later his close political aide, 1947-64; member, Congress Working Committee, 1955; President of Congress, 1959; Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1964-66; Prime Minister of India, since January 1966

has hardly any positions left. They are afraid of holding public meetings, unless some dominating personality is present. Unless we make up to these realities, we shall be completely isolated.

The police are an essential force. But the police view of anything is seldom a right or balanced view. It is not the politician's or the statesman's view.

As for Nepal, conditions there have been very bad and we have addressed strong representations there. I think there is likely to be an upheaval there before very long.

I am greatly concerned with what I see happening all round me in the Congress world and find that we are progressively alienating many vital sections of the community. There are hardly any young people with us. The people who are still with us are either some relics of the past or some others who have no particular influence in moulding public opinion, or some against whom there is a great deal of public feeling.

It is in this context that I viewed Lohia's case and considered its prolongation unfortunate and harmful for our cause.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

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Dehra Dun
21 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 19 June 1949 regarding Lohia's case.

I think the best course would be to postpone consideration of this matter till we can discuss it personally. I am looking forward to seeing you here next week-end and we can then determine our attitude. I do hope you will be able to find time to come here.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

New Delhi
21 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I wrote to you yesterday about the Lohia case. Today some information reached me rather indirectly but reliably which I think I should convey to you.

The Socialist Party is very much put out by the activities and influence of the Communists. They want to divert their energies against this and even to co-operate with Government in various activities wherever possible, such as relief work, etc. They have two groups—the larger one which is thinking more and more on the above lines, a small one, led by Lohia, which acts irresponsibly on occasions. Lohia's activities are disliked by most of them and they have privately condemned them and spoken strongly to Lohia on recent occasions. But through party loyalty or whatever it is, they have to remain quiet in public when Lohia is being proceeded against in court. Some of Lohia's colleagues have announced a Lohia day on 26 June. Others do not like this business at all and yet because of the trial, etc. they cannot do much about it. They feel that if this business of the trial etc. was over, Lohia's stock would fall and then it would be easier to turn in a different direction and be more co-operative. How far this will happen I cannot say. But I think it is worthwhile, having regard to the all-India situation, to take advantage of any situation which reduces present tensions.

I understand that Lohia etc. have announced today that they will not further defend themselves. This should enable us to end this trial quickly. It has lost all dignity and importance and the sooner it is ended and the chapter closed the better.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
29 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

When I was in Dehra Dun last, we discussed the general situation and you mentioned specially the case of Golwalkar and Tara Singh. I agreed with you that there was no particular point in keeping them in detention and further we might also remove the ban on the RSS.

I agreed with this on general principles, because I think that *in existing circumstances the less we have of these bans and detentions, the better.* We can always take action, when necessity arises.

I mentioned to you then and had written previously about the case of Lohia and other socialists, who are in prison here. Now that their trial is over, I think it would be desirable to let the whole lot of them out. I would suggest this both in consideration of the general policy to which I have referred above and also rather specially in this particular case. It was a somewhat trivial affair and it would be as well if we treated it as such. *I feel that it would create a good impression generally if we let them all out.* All of them have been in prison for over a month now. In the normal course they will be there for another seven weeks plus the period for the fine. To keep them right to the end of this period will not serve any useful purpose, except to embitter many people and make it appear that we want our pound of flesh.

Some of these people who are in prison got rather unexpectedly caught in this business. They had come from some other places to Delhi for the day and had no idea that there was going to be any satyagraha or the like. At Lohia's suggestion, they joined his procession and got into trouble.

I heard today that some time ago Lohia was elected to represent the Indian Committee of the One World Movement. As such he is supposed to go to this One World Conference in Stockholm in August next. The promoters of this one world business are some British MPs, as well as others like Lord Boyd Orr, the food expert, etc. They are inclined to be faddists and impractical. But they are good intentioned people. I made it clear

to them, when they came here, that I was entirely in favour of the one world idea, but I considered their schemes impractical and in any event I could not associate myself with them formally.

Now that Lohia has been chosen by that committee to go to Stockholm probably some time in July the question of his going will arise. We can of course allow matters to drift and let him remain in prison and thus prevent his going. I think this will be a wrong policy and will have bad effects. It would be as well for him to go there. A visit abroad will probably do him good.

I suggest therefore that you might allow all these 42, or whatever the number is, Socialists in prison in Delhi to be released unconditionally. That is, the remaining part of their term of imprisonment and fine might be remitted.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

DRAFT PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Government of India have considered the case of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and other persons who were convicted of the breach of the lawful orders of the District Magistrate of Delhi in connection with 'Nepal Day'. The so-called reasons for such breach have been given by the accused in court. The Chief Commissioner, Delhi, has explained the position relating to these orders in his Press Conference held on 29 June 1949. It must be emphasized that the continuance of these regulations for holding of public meetings and taking out of processions is necessary in the interests of peace and orderliness of the Capital city, the population of which has increased enormously during the last five years and consists of heterogeneous elements of diverse types some of whom are anti-social. The number of meetings held and the nature of the speeches delivered, however, indicate clearly that such regulations have never been used by Government to stifle political opposition or to ban their activities. It has never been Government's policy to make any political advantage out of the transgressions of their opponents, nor do they feel that, in such cases, the accused person should be punished more severely than what the vindication of law and authority demands. After a review of these cases on merits, Government consider that the ends of justice would be served by the period of imprisonment already undergone and have, therefore, decided to remit the remaining part of their sentences and the fines imposed on them by the court.

New Delhi
29 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

There was a Cabinet meeting today at which a number of matters were disposed of. One or two matters we have kept over, till your return.

At the end of the Cabinet meeting, there was a general discussion about the situation in the country, more especially in West Bengal. Syama Prasad was of opinion that we should have general elections, on the old basis and franchise in all the provinces by the end of this year. The new Assembly elected would of course function only till the other general election under the Constitution. Of course if we have elections on the old basis, some changes will have to be made. For instance, no separate electorates and maybe a somewhat smaller number of people elected.

If we have these elections, it will mean a good deal of trouble for us and for the country. But I am somewhat attracted to the idea. It will be a challenge to the country and to the people and the present staleness in our governmental work will become much less. I should like you to think about this, so that we can discuss the matter in the Working Committee and otherwise on your return.

Matthai is going to London tomorrow. I have suggested to him that if he considers it necessary, he might go to Washington for a few days also. This may delay his return somewhat.

The situation in England regarding dollars is very bad. This will affect us. Of course there may be a question of devaluation of the pound sterling. So far as I can see, we should not agree to any such thing, which affects the value of our rupee and which automatically reduces the value of our sterling balances.

The situation in Kashmir, that is, Pakistan's military movements, is getting more and more odd. From all accounts that we receive, Pakistan troops are being concentrated in Azad Kashmir and on the border. This can only lead to one conclusion, that Pakistan intends mischief. If suddenly they started an invasion with tanks etc., it is quite possible that they could break through

and cut our lines of communications etc., round about Naushera. It is not difficult for an army taking the initiative to go ahead. We are discussing this matter with our military chiefs. Personally I cannot conceive how Pakistan can take any forward step of this kind just at this moment when the Commission is sitting there. But internal conditions in Pakistan are bad and they might want to gamble.

Cariappa and Vishnu Sahay¹ wanted to accompany me to Ladakh. I am however asking them to stay on here in case there are developments.

We are preparing a special memorandum on recent developments in Kashmir for the UK and US Governments. I am inclined to think that it might be worthwhile to send Bajpai to England with this memorandum, so that he can personally see Attlee about it. If this has to be done, it will have to be fairly soon.

I do not particularly like the idea of my going to Ladakh just at this moment, though I do not expect anything unusual will happen. In the balance I think it is as well that I should go.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Dchra Dun
30 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have received all the three letters sent by you this morning. I have talked to [R. K.] Patil and he has agreed to join as early as possible. We will have to arrange for a house and a car for him. For the house I am writing to Gadgil to find out some place for him. He was using a Government car in CP as Minister. Here we will have to arrange for him. It is better to give him a car. About pay, we can fix anything we consider adequate.

2. About Calcutta, we shall have to do something drastic. But we will think about it when you return. You need not postpone your going at this stage.

¹ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Food, 1951-53; Secretary for Kashmir Affairs and Labour Secretary, 1953-57; Cabinet Secretary, 1958-62; member, Planning Commission, 1962; Governor of Assam, and Nagaland, 1962-67

The only thing I can think of for the moment is that we should ask for fresh elections from the provincial assemblies for the CA or rather for Parliament. The Constituent Assembly as such will finish its functions after passing the Constitution.

Thus the provincial Assemblies could easily elect their quota of members for the Central Parliament some time towards the end of this year, in November or December. This new Parliament would not be essentially different from the old one, but at any rate it will bring in some fresh blood and will give new life to our work and avoid the sense of staleness.

If this idea is approved, it might be included in the transitional clauses of the Constitution.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

212

Dehra Dun
23 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 21 June 1949 regarding the present Constituent Assembly.

I agree with your suggestion that we should hold fresh elections for the Central Parliament after the Constitution has been finalized. We can do so only through the existing provincial Assemblies, because the new Parliament will be there only during the period of transition between the proclamation of the Republic and the election and convening of the new Legislature. I do not think anybody need legitimately grumble at it, because after all the present Constituent Assembly was elected for the purpose of drafting the Constitution. In selecting men for the job, we had an eye not on its legislative side at all but on its Constitution-making functions. The most convenient time to dissolve the present Constituent Assembly would be after the next Legislative session so that the elections may be held some time in the months of December and January and the new Legislature may meet after 26 January.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

Dehra Dun
25 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please see the enclosed cutting from the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 24 June. If Rafi has actually made this disclosure, it is rather a serious thing to do. Lord Mountbatten's note was, as you will recall, circulated only to the Members of the Cabinet and was not intended for public consumption.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

From Our Own Correspondent

Jhansi

22 June 1949

The last British Viceroy and Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, left a note while relinquishing charge which contained his suggestions to the Indian Prime Minister to effect a periodical overhaul in the Central and provincial Cabinets on the model of Britain and other Western democratic countries. This was revealed by India's Communication Minister, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, at a meeting of cadets and workers of Laxmibai Vyayam Mandir when he arrived last week to preside at Maharani Laxmibai Jayanti celebrations, according to the report of the meeting which was published in today's local daily Jagran. It also reveals that the Mountbatten Note boldly suggested that those Ministers who proved incapable and inefficient in running the administration must be replaced by new blood.

According to this report, the Minister also advised the youth to expose corruption publicly, boldly irrespective of the fact from which quarters it came or what exalted position [in] public life wrong-doers enjoyed. "If we really wish to see society purified", Shri Kidwai is reported to have said, "and the country emerge as a powerful democracy, then you will have to expose and overthrow these corrupt people. This will create consciousness and confidence in our people, who today require a bold lead." Shri Kidwai, according to the report, also said: "If we really wish to strengthen and purify the Congress, we will have to defy all pressures and push ahead honest, sincere and incorruptible persons and open the doors of the organization for new blood."

Amrita Bazar Patrika
24 June 1949

CHAPTER VII
GANDHI MURDER CASE

214

6 January 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

Chakradhar was here the other day and saw me. I am very sorry to find that the improvement in the condition of your health is not as satisfactory as we had expected. Wardha does not seem to have done you much good. It would have been better if you had gone to Pilani instead. I had been there and found the climate very healthy and salubrious. I would even now advise you to go there. I feel that a prolonged period of rest there will do you a lot of good. I can also run down some weekends, and as for medical advice, that would be available to you from Delhi as need arises.

You must have seen the list of Working Committee members. There was some difficulty about Jagjivan Ram¹ and S. K. Patil,² but I took a strong line and finally, in consultation with Jawaharlal, my view was accepted by the President. In place of Jagjivan Ram, Dr. Pattabhi [Sitaramayya] wanted to nominate Mr. Khandekar of CP on the ground that he was a Harijan and also came from the CP which was unrepresented. I told him that, apart from the fact that it would be contrary to your advice to exclude Jagjivan Ram, the latter would be much more useful and helpful than Khandekar. It was originally intended to exclude [N. G.] Ranga,³ but I pointed out to Pattabhi that such exclusion was likely to be misunderstood and misrepresented.

¹ Parliamentary Secretary, Bihar Government, 1937-39; member, Legislative Assembly and Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Labour Minister, Government of India, August, 1946-52; at present Minister of Defence

² President, Bombay PCC; member, Bombay Assembly, 1937-46; member, CA, 1947-48; MP, 1952-67; Central Minister, 1957-63 and 1964-67

³ President, All-India Kisan Sabha; President, Andhra PCC; member, Congress Parliamentary Party; founder-President, Swatantra Party

Devadas [Gandhi]¹ came and saw me today. He proposes to arrange for an exhibition of a few things of Bapu in a hut at Rajghat on 30 January. This would entail an expenditure of Rs. 30,000 which is likely to be recovered from admission tickets which it is proposed to charge at 2 as. each. He would like to know if he could do this with your authority and in anticipation of the approval of the Trustees. I think it would be covered by the objects of the Trust, and if you permit this to be done, I would inform Devadas to go ahead with it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Wardha

for the exhibition which it is proposed to have at Rajghat on 30 January. I cannot understand why this should cost so much as Rs. 30,000. They had a Gandhi Mandap at the Jaipur exhibition. The Jaipur exhibition, although very highly spoken of by everybody, was not successful at all from the financial point of view. With all the Congress enthusiasm about it they were not able to get more than Rs. 27,000 as gate money. This is what Dhotre tells me. I doubt very much if a simple exhibition of photographs would bring so much as Rs. 30,000. But apart from all this, I am afraid we cannot spend anything out of the Gandhi Memorial Fund except what is required in connection with the collection. On this ground I have not accepted a request for grant from the institutions at Sevagram. They are hard put to it to carry on but I felt that if I once started spending, there will be claims from so many institutions that it will not be possible for me to deal with them. When Trustees are appointed, their position will be different and they will be able to spend whatever they think necessary. But so long as they are not appointed, I do not feel like incurring any expenditure in anticipation of their sanction.

As you know, we had thought of closing the Fund on 30 January but I have been approached by some people that we should keep the Fund open for some time longer. Congressmen in particular want this as they feel that the Congress organization has not been mobilized and what with floods and what with other calamities they have not been able to collect from the masses. From now to May it is supposed to be a good season for collection and they suggest that if the Fund is kept open for another 4 or 5 months, it would be helpful. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur wrote to me some months ago that the Fund should be closed and if people are not paying we should not keep the Fund open. Her feeling was strong and she felt that it was an insult to Bapu's memory to bring pressure on people for this Fund. I wrote to her that we had decided to keep it open [up] to 30 January. I would like to know what you and Jawaharlalji feel about it. I do not know if Congress people will show any greater enthusiasm after 30 January than they have done in the past. I have been trying to whip up enthusiasm amongst them, at least during this month. I am, therefore, not very keen on keeping the Fund open but in this matter I would like to be guided by you and Jawaharlalji. Will you kindly consult him and let me know his as well as your own views in the matter? I am writing to him also separately.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Bajajwadi
Wardha

30 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have seen in the papers that the judgment in the Godse trial case will be delivered on 10 February. My feeling, which is shared by people here and at Sevagram, is that it would be better if the judgment is delivered after the 12th. Is it possible to have it put off by a few days without exposing us to the charge of interfering with the judge's discretion? If it be, you know how to get it done.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Bajajwadi
Wardha

7 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated 3 February 1949.

I appreciate why you and the Prime Minister are unwilling to suggest postponement of the delivery of judgment in the Gandhi murder trial even for two or three days. As that was the feeling of friends here, I wrote to you and the matter ends there.

I am very much better now and have in fact visited the districts of this small province of four districts in connection with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund collection without any appreciable effect on my health. I am hoping to reach Delhi on the 15th and will of course meet you all when I am there.

S C.-VIII-17

Many thanks for your signature on the resolution of the Bihar Central Relief Trust.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

218

237 Madison Avenue
New York 16
2 February 1949

Dear Sardar Patel,

Greetings and best wishes for your good health.

I am writing the life of Mahatma Gandhi and want to be sure that there are no inaccuracies in it. I see, from an account of the trial in The Hindustan Times of 31 August 1948, that Maniben was with you in your last talk with Bapu. Is this correct?

The same witness declared that he saw you and Maniben off to the inner gate. I would like to know how far from the scene you had gone and how you learned of the assassination, for apparently you were back at Bapu's side in a few minutes.

These facts may not seem of great moment, but it is better to have the facts as they were.

Respectfully,
Louis Fischer¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

219

New Delhi
9 February 1949

Dear Mr. Louis Fischer,

Thank you for your letter of 2 February 1949.

It is correct to say that Maniben was with me during my last talk with Bapu. After we left Bapu we returned to our house. We had hardly been here for a minute or two when Brijkishan, [Chandiwala] whom you probably know as he always used to

¹ American Journalist and author of a book on Gandhi

be with Bapu in Delhi, came in hot haste and told me that Bapu had been shot. We immediately went back to Birla House and were by his side within about five or ten minutes of his assassination.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Mr. Louis Fischer
237 Madison Avenue
New York 16

220

8 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
14 February 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Probably Godse will not submit any petition for mercy. It will be befitting Gandhiji's memory to pardon this scoundrel along with the others who have been sentenced. They should be forcibly made to settle down in the Andamans as free men. I do not know how far my suggestion is practicable or logical.

Always at your service.

Yours sincerely,
Brajeshwar Prasad
MCA

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

221

New Delhi
15 February 1949

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 14 February 1949 regarding the commutation of the sentence of Godse. I am sure you will appreciate that nobody knows better than myself what Gandhiji would expect me to do in the matter. You can, therefore, leave the matter at that.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad, MCA
8 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi

Nagpur
1 May 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I do not know what Panditji, Vallabhbhai and yourself have decided to do with Godse. I trust and wish you are not one of those who want to see him sent to the gallows. I see no point in making him a martyr! You know much better than myself that with the exception of a few only the rest of the Hindus in India or elsewhere as far as the Muslims of India or/and Pakistan go, one and all is RSS-minded. So as it is not one Godse the assassinator of Bapu that is to be dealt with but millions of Godses.

Therefore what I would wish done is that Godse and if necessary his close associates be sent to a penitentiary to find out for themselves and ponder and think over if in any way they have achieved this end in view and decide once for all that Hinduism or India cannot be and will never be saved by pursuing RSS methods. If there is no such penitentiary anywhere outside India one must be established in India putting in charge the most fitted for this high post and place under him Godse and his close associates.

Instead if Godse is sent to the gallows, you know Bapu, wherever he may be, will feel deeply hurt; the same will be the condition of known and unknown associates of Bapu who each in his humble way has incessantly, for long enough, tried to live and do as Bapu so very aptly felt and wanted each one to live and do and die in the attempt if the occasion demanded.

No doubt you will place this before Panditji [and] Vallabhbhai for their due consideration and convey to me their and your own views and also what is finally decided by the three of you. As a matter of course you will speak this to Devdas. Therefore, I am not sending him a copy of this.

I hope and wish that you are well and fit in every sense.

With kindest regards and Pranams,

Yours childlike,
Ramdas

Shri C. Rajagopalachari

Khalasi Lines
Nagpur CP
13 June 1919

My dear Jawaharlalji,

As stated in my letter addressed to you, dated 11 June 1949, I now enclose herewith copy of a letter dated 13 June 1919, addressed by me to Godse, in reply to his letter dated 3 June 1919 [See enclosure] and received by me on 9 June 1919.

You will notice that in place of Vinoba Bhave,¹ in my letter dated 13th inst. to Godse, I have mentioned the name of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala. I feel that this change of name was necessary as Kishorlalbhai is definitely in a better position to bring about a desired change in the outlook and wrong policy that has been pursued by Godse.

You know that Kishorlalbhai, physically, is in no condition to stand the strain of a long journey. As such I feel that our meeting with Godse should take place in Delhi in the Red Fort. I exactly do not know, but I feel that no difficulty should be experienced by all concerned in bringing Godse from Simla to Delhi and lodge him in the Red Fort.

I am now awaiting to hear from you as soon as it may be possible for you to inform me whether the proposed meeting with Godse will be arranged.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. M. Gandhi

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹A leading Gandhian who pioneered bhoodan (land gift) movement

ENCLOSURE

Simla

3 June 1949

Dear Brother, Shri Ramdas M. Gandhi,

Received your most kind letter yesterday of 17 May 1949.

As a human being I have no words to express my feelings for the wounds that you and your relatives must have received by the tragic end of your revered father, by my hands. But at the same time I state that there is the other side also to look at.

I am not in a position to write all my thoughts on paper—nor am I in a position to see you personally. But certainly you are in a position to see me in jail before my execution.

You say that you have heard that I am a man of 'reason' and 'logic'. True! But you will be surprised to note that I am a man of powerful sentiments also and "devotion to my Motherland is the topmost one of the same."

You say that "once my mind is free from misunderstanding then no doubt that I shall repent and realize my blunder." Brother, I say that I am an open-minded man, always a subject for correction. But what is the way to remove my misunderstandings, if any, and to make me repent?

Certainly neither the gallows nor any big show of mercy and to commute my punishment. The only way is to see me and make me realize. Uptil now, I have come across nothing which will make me repent.

I have received several letters from some prominent "Christian Missions," and according to their faith and the teaching of the 'Holy Bible', they have tried to give me some message. Their stand is quite intelligible. But yours is the first letter that I have received which resembles to some extent to the well-known, or more known teachings of your revered father. Really this is surprising! I have received many letters full of abuses. I do not consider they were written by any disciple of your father.

Any way, I must humbly request you to see me and, if possible, with some prominent disciple of your revered father, particularly who is not interested in any power politics, and to bring to my notice my most fatal mistake.

Otherwise, I shall always feel that this show of mercy is nothing but an eye-wash.

If you actually see me and have a talk with me, either sentimentally or on reason, who knows you may be able to change me and make me repent or I may change you and make you realize my stand.

The condition of the talks must be that we must stick to the "Truth alone."

Again, I express my utmost regrets as a human being for your sufferings due to the death of your revered father by my hands.

Yours sincerely,
Nathuram V. Godse

N.B. If you prefer, then please send a copy of this to H.E. the Governor-General of the Dominion of India.

Khalasi Lines
Nagpur
13 June 1949

Dear Shri Nathuram Godse,

I have your letter dated 3 June 1949.

I am glad to see that you are always open to conviction, and your desire to have a heart-to-heart talk with me and a close associate of my father on the question whether ways and means adopted by you have in any way served or are likely to ever prove fruitful in the future in maintaining the integrity of our dear Motherland or the centuries-old Hindu religion, which, like all other present-day religions, is free of distinction of any kind, is encouraging.

and pray that "He" bestows on you "this Divine Grace," as it is such grace alone that I feel will help you to see your mistake and realize that it was after all Gandhiji who knew best that the interests of our Motherland, and the Hindu religion in particular, could be protected from insult or injury. If you do this, I am sure, at the end of the proposed meeting between you and us, you will be able to sing with us the undernoted shloka in the 18th chapter of Bhagwat Gita, a piece of poetry full of meaning and charm.

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा, त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।

स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः करिष्ये, वचनं तव ॥ ७३ ॥

Yours sincerely,
R. M. Gandhi

Central Jail
Ambala
24 June 1949

Dear Shri Ramdas Gandhi,

Received yours of the 13th instant on 23 June and noted the contents.

I am glad that you have responded to my request; you may come at any time which will be convenient to you. You can see me even one day before my execution. I am not impatient about the visit. Even your willingness to see me has given me a sort of satisfaction. It does not matter even if you do not see me at all due to some other difficulties, but [that] mentally you are prepared to see me is enough for me to be convinced about your sincerity of cause.

My pressing request is to try to have this interview.

I agree that I need not have stipulated the condition about "sticking to the truth alone." Believe me I did not mean any offence while writing the same. But there were two main reasons behind my mind. One is that I have come across numerous so-called followers of the creed of truth who actually in practice have no regard for the same. I have seen some in the witness-box speaking a perverted truth on oath.

And the second reason is that in the course of our conversation perhaps I shall have to speak some bitter truth. At least which so far as I believe is truth and a bitter one.

Anyway I am assured by your letter that I need not fear to speak frankly with you.

Thanks for reminding me [of] the beautiful shloka from Bhagwat-gita—नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा. To me not only this shloka but the whole of the Gita is an invaluable piece of poetry full of meaning and charm,

After the expression of Arjun करिष्ये वचनं तव Arjun actually did it as Shri Krishna told him मामनुसरतुष्वच.

If possible you can enquire through Shri Vinobaji Bhave, who belongs to Maharashtra by birth, or through somebody else about my general character and behaviour up to my arrest. Perhaps that will be useful for you to know the background of the person who committed a very cruel crime.

Nothing more for the present.

Yours sincerely,
Nathuram V. Godse

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New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Ramdas,

I have just received your letter. I confess that you have put me in a difficulty. My own inclination is to advise you not to visit Nathuram Godse. I do not think this visit at this stage can serve any useful purpose. But in this matter I should like to be guided by what Shri Rajagopalachari and Sardar Patel may advise. I am therefore writing to them on this subject. You have sent the copies of letters to them already.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri Ramdas M. Gandhi
Khalasi Lines
Nagpur

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Government House
New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I hope you have improved in health. I note that Kishorlal-bhai has gone there. It seems Ramdas is excited and is not able to restrain his anxiety to talk to condemned prisoners and convert them to the creed of non-violence and repentance! What Bapu himself was not able to do and to which he was sacrificed like a lamb led to the altar! I am surprised.

Not only are some of our friends desirous of saving Godse for future generations but there is a regular campaign I can see among certain hypocritical organs of the Press somehow to get the death sentence abolished in time for this purpose.

It seems as if the benefit of rash reforms must go to the man who has done the wickedest act of modern times and murdered India herself before we give the benefit of it to others. The man is seeking the intervention of likely people for this very purpose in a subtle manner, I have no doubt. His unrepentant and blustering pose in court on one side and soft letters to Sevagram and the sons of his victim go ill together.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

226

Government House
New Delhi
14 June 1949

Dear Shri Shankar,

This is what His Excellency has written to Shri Ramdas Gandhi. Kindly place it before the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
S. Krishnamurti

Shri V. Shankar, ics
Private Secretary to the Hon'ble
Deputy Prime Minister
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Government House
New Delhi
14 June 1949

I would advise you to leave the case of Godse in the hands of Government. My emphatic advice to you is not to intervene in the case. I agree with Jawaharlalji that you should not visit the prisoner.

C. Rajagopalachari

Shri Ramdas Gandhi
Khalasi Lines
Nagpur

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New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You must have received Ramdas Gandhi's letter with its enclosures. I enclose a copy of my reply to him.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

228

Dehra Dun
16 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 June 1949.

2. I have not yet received Ramdas Gandhi's letter. I have, however, received Rajaji's reply. I entirely agree with him that he should not visit Godse and that he had better leave matters in the hands of those whose business it is to deal with them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi

229

Camp Dehra Dun
16 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have now received the correspondence which has passed between Ramdas and Godse as also a copy of his letter to you. I adhere to my previous view that he should not see Godse. As it is, there is every likelihood of an attempt being

was working in Ahmednagar and who was on friendly terms with him; that Madanlal had spoken about his exploits at Ahmednagar; that Madan Lal had told him that Karkare had taken Madanlal to Savarkar; that Savarkar had a long talk with him for about two hours and that Savarkar had praised him for what he had done, had patted him on his back and had asked him to carry on; that Madanlal had said that there was a dump of arms, ammunition and explosives at Ahmednagar and that Madanlal and his companions were to proceed to Delhi to carry out the objects of the conspiracy. Mr. Desai asked Dr. Jain as to why he did not tell him all about it immediately after he had come to know of it. Jain replied that refugees were in the habit of talking wildly and he believed that he had dissuaded Madanlal from doing what he had intended to do.

On receipt of this information Mr. Desai acted with commendable promptitude. He sent immediately for Mr. Nagarvala, Officer in charge of the Intelligence Branch. Mr. Nagarvala was unable to come at once as he was busy at the time, and Mr. Desai accordingly asked him to see Mr. Desai at the railway station as he was leaving Bombay for Ahmedabad the same night. Mr. Nagarvala came to the railway station at about 8-15 p.m. and Mr. Desai told him what Dr. Jain had said and asked him to take action in the matter. He asked Mr. Nagarvala to arrest Karkare, to keep a close watch on Savarkar's house and his movements and to find out the names of the persons who were involved in the plot. Mr. Desai reached Ahmedabad on the morning of 22 January and repeated to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel the story that had been narrated to him by Dr. Jain.

Mr. Nagarvala complied with the instructions without loss of time. He organized an unobtrusive watch over the house of Savarkar from 5-30 p.m. that evening. He made arrangements for locating and arresting Karkare. He made enquiries from the Ahmednagar police with the object of ascertaining whether Karkare whose detention had been ordered under the Public Security Measures Act 10 or 15 days before had been arrested. He contacted various informants of his to locate and apprehend Karkare and his associates. He also issued similar instructions to the various officials under him as he was giving topmost priority to this particular enquiry.

In the meantime enquiries were being made from Madanlal by the police at Delhi. He was interrogated by the police immediately after his arrest on the 20th, but the enquiries do not appear to have revealed any useful information except in regard to Karkare. On being questioned under section 342 of the Code of Criminal Procedure Madanlal stated as follows:

"The police asked me the names of the co-workers of Badge who were putting up in the Marina Hotel. I told them that I did not know their names. I told them that Badge had told me that the co-workers were staying in a corner room on the first floor of the Marina Hotel."

The police rushed to the Marina Hotel with the object of apprehending the conspirators. When they reached there they found that the birds had flown. Enquiries were made as to the persons who were occupying the corner room on the first floor but the only information that the management of the hotel could supply to the police was that two persons who had stayed under the names of M. Deshpande and S. Deshpande had settled their bills and had left the hotel immediately after the explosion in such haste they did not even care to take their clothes with them. The police then visited the room in the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan which was said to have been occupied by Badge, Shankar, Madanlal and Gopal. This room was empty and deserted for Badge and Shankar had quit the place almost immediately after the explosion. And what about Karkare and Gopal? Enquiry was made at the Sharif Hotel but no information could be obtained as to the whereabouts of Mr. B. M. Bias who had stayed there from 17 to 19 January and who had left the hotel a day before the explosion. So far as can be judged even Madanlal did not know where his confederates had gone. Gopal was in Delhi but he too made himself scarce after the explosion. He did not dare go back to the Hindu Mahasabha office where he was staying the previous night, for he did not know that Madanlal would not denounce him to the authorities. Both Karkare and Gopal are said to have spent the night of the 20th in the Frontier Hindu Hotel under the assumed names of G. M. Joshi and Rajagopalam. On 21 January the position was that although the police were aware of the existence of a conspiracy to assassinate Mahatma Gandhi, the only conspirators who were known to them were Badge, Karkare and Madanlal. A Deputy Superintendent and an Inspector of Police left Delhi by air and reached Bombay on the 22nd. They desired the arrest of Karkare and his conspirators in connection with the bomb explosion. They stayed in Bombay till the 23rd and after their departure Mr. Nagarvala continued the search for Karkare and his associates, if any. Karkare was not known to the Bombay City Police. On certain information received by him he issued instructions for the arrest of Badge on or about 24 January. Mr. Rana, DIG, CID, whose headquarters are in Poona, came to Bombay on 27 January and reported developments to him. On the same day Mr. Nagarvala had a telephonic conversation with the Director of Intelligence Bureau, Delhi, to whom also the developments had been reported. Unfortunately Badge could not be traced till the 31st, a day after the tragedy had been enacted at Birla House. The fatal shots were not fired either by Badge or by Karkare or by Madanlal and even if they had been arrested immediately after the explosion the tragedy could not be averted. The evidence on record does not show that the names of the other conspirators were known. If their names were not known the police could not very well put them under arrest.

The movements of Karkare, Badge and Shankar during the crucial period commencing with the 20th and ending with 30 January are not known. Karkare is said to have gone to the Frontier Hindu Hotel on 20 January, to have spent the night of 20 January in that hotel and to have left that hotel on the 21st. He was seen at the house of Mr. G. M. Joshi at Thana (Bombay) on the 25th and at the railway station at Delhi on the 29th. He was not known to the Bombay police. He did not visit his regular haunts or if he did, his haunts were not known to the Bombay police. Badge and Shankar could certainly have been arrested if they had gone back to Poona for they were well known to the police. Orders for the arrest of Badge were issued on or about the 24th and Mr. Rana came to see Mr. Nagarvala at Bombay on the 27th in connection with the arrest. It is impossible to believe that if he had been anywhere near his house he would not have been arrested. He was arrested on the 31st when he was returning from a certain temple where he was presumably concealing himself. Shankar was arrested near Bhuleshwar on 6 February. He too was arrested at a place where he was not expected to be.

The only person who could have been arrested if the police wanted to arrest him was Gopal, younger brother of Nathuram [Godse]. This prisoner was at the Frontier Hindu Hotel on 20 January, in the Elphinstone Annexe Hotel for a short time on or about the 24th and in Thana on 25 January. Neither the Elphinstone Hotel, Bombay, nor the house of Mr. G. M. Joshi at Thana are places which he was known to visit but in any case the police could not know that he was concerned in the crime. On the following day, i.e., on 26 January he went and rejoined his appointment. He could obviously have been arrested on that day if the police had been aware that he was a member of this conspiracy but the police were not aware of this fact and he continued to be at large for a few days more. As soon as it was known that Mahatma Gandhi was the victim of a murderous assault furious mobs attacked the houses of persons who were said to be concerned in the crime. The house of Mr. Savarkar was attacked and was strewn with broken glasses and other missiles. The life of Gopal, who was known to be a brother of the assassin, was in imminent danger and police protection had to be given to prevent him from being lynched. He was rushed off to his native village where prejudice against him was probably not as strong as in the neighbourhood of Poona. He was arrested near Uksan on 5 February, his name having probably been supplied by Badge who was arrested on 31 January or by Madanlal who was brought from Delhi to Bombay on or about 4 February.

And what about the movements of Nathuram and Apte? Nathuram and Apte left Delhi for Kanpur by train on the night of the 20th and stayed in a retiring room at the railway station at Kanpur on the 21st. They did not supply their names to the booking clerk. They left Kanpur on the

22nd and reached Bombay on the 23rd. They went to the Arya Pathik Ashram at about 9 p.m. and Apte asked for a room with two beds in the name of D. Narayan. No room with two beds was available but they were allotted two beds in a room containing eight beds. They left their luggage in that room and returned to the Ashram at 1 o'clock in the night. The accommodation provided for them was not suitable and Nathuram and Apte shifted to the Elphinstone Annexe Hotel on the 24th. They stayed there under the assumed names of N. Vinayakrao and a friend. At about 6.30 a.m. on 27 January, they left [for] Delhi by air under the assumed names of D. Narayanrao and N. Vinayakrao. They left Delhi the same afternoon, reached Gwalior at night, spent 28 January in Gwalior and returned to Delhi on the morning of the 29th. Nathuram and Apte stayed in a retiring room of the railway station at Delhi on the 29th and for a part of the 30th which had been booked by Nathuram in the name of N. Vinayakrao. On 30 January, Nathuram went to the prayer meeting armed with a pistol and fired at Mahatma Gandhi. It was impossible for any police officer, however capable and efficient he might have been, to have prevented Nathuram from committing the crime on which he had set his heart. He was going about from place to place under assumed names, not staying in any one place for more than a day or two and it was impossible for any police officer to catch hold of him particularly if he was not known or suspected to be a co-conspirator. Apte was going about with Nathuram all the time. He too travelled about under assumed names. Even if the police were aware on the night of the 26th that Nathuram and Apte were concerned in the conspiracy it is extremely doubtful if they could have stopped them from achieving their end.

The police did all that was reasonably possible to do. Immediately after the explosion the police appear to have sent a number of persons to various railway stations in order to prevent the suspects from escaping by train. Badge states that as soon as the tonga carrying him and his servant Shankar reached the railway station New Delhi and as soon as he had purchased two third-class tickets from Delhi to Poona he found a great commotion on the platform. The police were moving about. Sensing danger to himself he came out of the platform, got into a tonga and set off for the railway station at Delhi. He slipped through their fingers because the police do not appear to have known till that hour that he was concerned in the crime. Nor did they know anything about Nathuram or Apte. If the statement of Madanlal is correct that he did not know the names of the conspirators and did not supply them to the police it is idle to contend that the police could have prevented the tragedy notwithstanding the reticence of Madanlal. Nathuram had made up his mind and was prepared to risk his life in order to take that of Mahatma Gandhi. He took the risk of entering the premises of Birla House armed with a pistol and he actually fired the fatal shots when he was surrounded by a large multitude of people.

He did not care to run away. He had come to Birla House with a particular object and he was determined to achieve it. He was prepared to take all risks and to abide by the inevitable consequences. Was it possible for the police to stop a person whom they did not know, or a person who was going about from place to place under false names or a person who was determined to commit this particular crime regardless of consequences to himself? The police were aware that something was afoot, but they did not know when or where or by whom the blow was to be struck. They were groping in the dark and could not find their way. We know what has happened and may be able to say that this precious life could be saved this way or that way, but it is always easy to be wise after the event.

The evidence on record satisfies me (a) that no opportunity was afforded to the police to explain the circumstances which prevented them from apprehending Nathuram before 30 January and thereby saving the life of Mahatma Gandhi; (b) that Madanlal failed to supply the names of the conspirators to the police; (c) that even if those names were supplied it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the police to arrest Nathuram who was going about from place to place under assumed names and who was determined to assassinate Mahatma Gandhi even at the risk of losing his own life.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE JUDGMENT OF HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE
KACHRU RAM DATED 21 JUNE 1949 IN THE GANDHI MURDER CASE

Before concluding I want to advert to some remarks made by the learned Special Judge as to the slackness shown in the investigation during the period between 20 and 30 January 1948 but for which, in the view of the learned Judge, the tragedy could have been prevented. I must say that I have not been able to discover any justification at all for these remarks which in my judgment were wholly uncalled for.

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Dehra Dun
2 July 1949

My dear Satyanarayan Babu,

I am sending herewith two copies of extracts of judgment delivered in the Godse trial on the subject of the alleged acts of omission and commission of the police during investigation. H.M. would like these extracts to be circulated with reference

to the discussions in the party meeting on the original comments of the trying court.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

The Hon'ble Shri Satyanarayan Sinha
Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs
Council House
New Delhi

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Council House
New Delhi
16 July 1949

Dear Friend,

During the last session of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) some Honourable Members gave notice of questions based on certain remarks regarding the police made by the learned Special Judge in his judgment in the Gandhi murder case. As an appeal against this judgment was filed in the High Court of the East Punjab and the whole matter had become sub judice, these questions were for the time being not admitted by the Honourable the Speaker.

The High Court of the East Punjab has now delivered its judgment in the case and has held that the observation of the learned Special Judge in regard to the action of the police was not warranted by the facts on record. As it will be some months before the next session of the Legislature is again summoned and there will, therefore, be no opportunity in the intervening period to make a statement on the floor of the House, I am to bring to your notice the relevant observations of the East Punjab High Court, a copy of which is enclosed with this letter.

Yours sincerely,
Satyanarayan Sinha

To all the Members of the Constituent Assembly of India
(Legislative)

Simla
28 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You may remember Kishorlalbhair's letter which he sent to me from Dehra Dun and my immediate reply thereto of which I sent you a copy.

I propose to see him at Delhi if he should be still there when I return from here on 30 June and give him the enclosed reply personally rather than send the communication by post.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Simla
June 1949

My dear Kishorlalbhair,

The enclosed paper expresses my present views on the question of capital punishment. Unless we are able to abolish the death penalty by law at once, it seems entirely absurd to give the benefit of such abolition, so to say, to one who has confessed having committed the foulest murder of our times and who does not show the least sign of repentance and claims still to have acted entirely deliberately and on his own account. This is my reaction to your article but this will have to be kept as an entirely secret and personal document between you and me.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala
C/o The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S VIEWS ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

I am not by any means enlarging the scope now given to judges in India to decide whether to give the death penalty or other alternative punishment in cases of murder, but differing from a number of my friends I am sorry I do not believe it would be well to abolish the death penalty, that is remove the possibility of using it against any sort of crime.

Let me clear preliminary ground. It is not a question of giving up the creed of non-violence by which I agree we should continue to keep our policies largely directed. It is not I believe anyone's view that, beyond making non-violence the guide for individual conduct, we could abolish the army or the present system of preserving peace and order and solely resort to non-violent sanctions, whatever they might be. No one has yet devised a plan of government on that basis. Nor can we afford to make a wholly new experiment in India in our present circumstances. Let us also remember that imprisonment is as much violence as the death penalty and it would be odd when we have imprisonment for all offences, we should consider death penalty for brutal murder alone as banned by the creed of non-violence. If we must retain State violence, then the question is only one of whether the death penalty may sometimes be used against certain types of murder. One has only to examine the current records of crime to realize that some crimes are being committed which call for a severer penalty than any period of imprisonment. Most murders may be adequately dealt with by long imprisonment, but I feel that some kinds of murder there are which call for much severer punishment than any imprisonment that may be awarded.

Very much that has been said against the death penalty is true. But there is no doubt in my opinion that the presence of the penalty in the laws of the country does restrain persons in certain cases from going to the limits which in their state of mind they would otherwise not mind. There are in our human affairs, in the present state of progress, certain circumstances and situations wherein the taking of life offers itself as a solution to people in distress and difficulty. It is necessary that there should be in the law something to act as a deterrent and a counter force in such cases. If the only sanction is a term of imprisonment, the urge to kill will have its way.

Imprisonment has lost its terrors and its disgrace. Increasing amenities in prison life are being rightly provided. These cannot be denied or qualified by any discriminatory regulations. The urge to kill and solve a difficulty cannot be coped with by the sanction of imprisonment in all cases. Transportation over the seas had a certain terror, but it is now abolished in fact and generally known to be no longer in vogue. To retain the death penalty in the Statute Book and to give large powers to the judges to give an alternative sentence even in cases of proved murder in cold blood seems to be the only proper thing to do.

If I may put it facetiously but quite truly, we should not give to our friends the murderers the monopoly of inflicting death sentences whenever they choose while disabling ourselves from inflicting such a punishment. It must be admitted that we have not been able yet to prevent people from killing others for greed and for other mean and sordid reasons. Statistics can easily be obtained on this head. If we abolish the death penalty, there is every likelihood that men and women will be encouraged to commit murders more freely than they now do.

28-6-1949

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Government House
New Delhi
2 July 1949

My dear Kishorlalbhai,

I had hoped I would be able to see you in Delhi on my return from Simla. I do not think it would be a good thing if I discuss through correspondence the points raised in your draft article and in your letter of 28 June. You have had a meeting with Sardar and I have no doubt you must have discussed these matters with him. The article and correspondence in the Statesman and the activities of Mr. Thatte should not be a reason for you. An article in the Harijan is very different from these things. I am really sorry that I have not had the advantage of a personal discussion with you as I am not prepared at this stage to send anything in writing to friends on this subject.

I am clear in my mind that it would be very undesirable for Ramdas to see the condemned person unless Ramdas has finally renounced worldly affairs and wishes to be a person entirely devoted to religion, in which case he is free to do anything.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala
Bajajwadi
Wardha

Dehra Dun
4 July 1919

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 July 1919.

2. I had a long talk with Kishorlalji when he was here and conveyed to him almost identical views as you proposed to do in your note. I told him that no sensible man would think of abolishing the death penalty in India in the conditions which prevail today. We have been going through so many mercy petitions and we ourselves find, with the best will in the world, that in a majority of cases the death penalty should be sustained. If the death penalty is not to be abolished, then I could not think of a stronger case for the infliction of the death penalty than that of Godse. He has committed the worst crime imaginable and as you said in an earlier letter 'he stabbed the heart of India itself.' I endorse your reply of 2 July which you sent to him. If in spite of all this he feels that he should share his thoughts with the readers of the Harijan, you and I cannot help it.

3. I have also received your letter regarding Master Tara Singh's release. Nobody is more keen on his release than myself. Indeed it was most distasteful to me to place him behind the bars, but he asked for it and from what we know he is unrepentant and unchanged. I had hoped that after the principal Sikh demand was met he would be more sober. Giani Kartar Singh¹ and two of Master Tara Singh's lieutenants saw him shortly after this decision was taken. They found him adamant and unmoved. Recently two other Sikh leaders went and saw him and I enclose a gist of their interview with him. The Sikh leaders themselves are apprehensive lest after his release matters might get worse. He is a fanatic and seems to suffer from some hallucinations about the coming of Sikh Raj and you will notice that he even goes to the extent of saying that those who cannot reconcile themselves to the demands of Sikhs in East Punjab, should clear out. *At the same time, I realize that his detention cannot*

¹ Akali leader, Minister in East Punjab

be permanent. I am watching the situation and you can rest assured that as soon as I am able to do so, I shall release him.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
Government House
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
5 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am grateful for your letter [4 July].

I am very glad we are all so completely agreed about the question (Godse).

I hope that any delay in the case of Apte and others on account of their attempts to get the Privy Council to hear their case will not delay the disposal of Godse's case. There can be [no] bar to it on account of any application for leave to appeal in the other cases.

As regards the other matter (Tara Singh) I had no doubt in my mind. You were as anxious to release him if possible as anybody else. We have to deal with it to the utmost advantage of the general welfare. You may consider and do as you deem best.

Yours affectionately,
Raja
[C. Rajagopalachari]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Government House
New Delhi
3 July 1919

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Enclosed copy of a letter from Ramdas to the Prime Minister may be seen by you, as it is a satisfactory termination of the matter.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Khalasi Lines
Nagpur
26/29 June 1919

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I thank you for your letter of the 11th instant. Shri Kishorlalbhai who returned today to Wardha from Delhi gave me the gist of his talk with Vallabhbhai about the proposed visit to Godse. And also why the judiciary should be allowed to deal with Godse as it thinks best.

As it has never been my intention to do anything that all the three of you may not like, I have decided to leave Godse's case in the hands of Destiny. As it is Destiny that impelled me to write both my letters to Godse.

Kindly forgive me for the embarrassment I must have caused to all of you. With kindest regards.

Yours,
Ramdas

Government House
New Delhi
1 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The latest demand that the principle of non-killing should be given effect to in favour of the murderers of Bapu is from Mavalankar¹ [See enclosure]. Once again I much regret we did not proceed with the trial of the principal offender without waiting for the investigation and trial of those involved in the conspiracy, when we found that the principal offender was determined not to assist us in disclosing his compatriots. People were then [neutral] and no one was inclined to recommend the abolition of capital punishment with immediate application to Bapu's murderers in order that we may glorify Bapu. People have no imagination and do not see the consequences of their advice based on ill-considered notions of devotion and loyalty.

I have not replied to Mavalankar except to say that I do not wish to correspond on the subject but will see him if he should come to Delhi in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

PS.

Kishorlalji had left when I arrived in Delhi. I do not think I should send any letter by post to him dealing with the subject. I had intended to give my views in person but it is not now possible.

C. R.

¹ G. V. Mavalankar: General Secretary, 36th Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad, 1921; Speaker, Bombay Assembly; President, Central Assembly, 1946-50; first Speaker of Lok Sabha

ENCLOSURE
EXTRACTS

Jorhat
Assam

20 September 1949

Sraddheya Shri Rajagopalachari,

I seek this opportunity of begging you to exercise your prerogative of mercy and to save the murderers of Bapuji from the gallows, because I feel it from the bottom of my heart, as also perhaps millions of persons not only in India but all over the world, that if Bapuji [had] survived the attack he would undoubtedly [have] requested the authorities to excuse and release the assailants. Let us please recall the conduct of Bapuji after the Arabs assaulted him murderously when he arranged to take out the certificate of registration on 10 February, 1908, in South Africa.

I need hardly add any argument in support of my request. I have a feeling that what I am writing is already in your mind, as one so long and closely associated with Bapuji could not have missed this aspect of the most tragic incident. I profoundly feel that we as a nation will prove unworthy followers of Mahatma Gandhi if we take the life of Godse and Apte in retaliation under the fetish of a section of the Penal Code, because such action would be contrary to the life-long preachings and practice of the Father of the Nation.

I am not unaware of the pending appeal, but one does not expect the verdict to be altered by the higher Tribunal.

With best wishes and regards,

I am,
sincerely yours,
Debeswar Sarmah¹

New Delhi
27 September 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 24 September 1949.

The President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee also happens to be a member of the Working Committee. That completes our 'discomfiture.' Sometimes, I begin to wonder why so many of us display signs of a complete lack of sense of proportion. When persons so highly placed can indulge in such nonsense, we can well imagine why our things are in a mess.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

Government House
New Delhi
24 October 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am sending you the enclosed draft in pursuance of our talk this morning.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
DRAFT

The question of clemency in this case (Godse) and in that of Apte was considered by me and the Governor-General after the judgment of the High Court had been delivered and before the petitions for leave to appeal to the Privy Council were filed. Now that the Privy Council have disposed of the

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Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi

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24 October 1949

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New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

DRAFT

The question of clemency in this case (Godse) and in that of Apte was considered by me and the Governor-General after the judgment of the High Court had been delivered and before the petitions for leave to appeal to the Privy Council were filed. Now that the Privy Council have disposed of the

cases finally and petitions for clemency having been received purporting to be signed by the near relatives of the two condemned prisoners and from Apte, it is necessary once again to consider if we may extend any clemency in these cases. On the merits all the courts have gone into the evidence very fully and carefully and there is nothing more to be said on the subject. The murder is certainly the most disgraceful and treasonable crime that has been committed in recent times. The whole world was shocked by it. The two prisoners have not during the trial or subsequently expressed the least sign of regret or repentance although by age and education they were quite fitted to realize the enormity of their crime. Some sort of repentance has come from Apte but it seems a belated and most inadequate attempt to atone for his crime. There is no desire or offer to make a clean breast of the case. Had there been any genuine attempt to delink himself from the past, there should have been a full and frank confession. We would not be prepared to attach any value to such repentance. There can therefore be no question but that the law must take its course in both these cases

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Government House
New Delhi
24 October 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I suggest the enclosed may be added to the draft already sent.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

It is suggested in some quarters that as Gandhiji favoured the abolition of capital punishment we ought to extend clemency to those who murdered him. We have not abolished the death penalty and those on whom the responsibility of government is placed cannot make a distinction and treat more favourably those who have chosen to kill the best among us while ordering the execution of the death penalty in so many other cases.

Government House
New Delhi
6 November 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Manilal Gandhi supplies an important omission by cable from Durban [See enclosure].

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

Durban
6 November 1949

Governor-General
New Delhi

REFERENCE MY CABLE APPEALING FOR GODSE'S DISCHARGE DESIRE INCLUDE
NARAYAN APTE WHOSE NAME WAS INADVERTENTLY LEFT OUT.

MANILAL GANDHI

Government House
New Delhi
13 November 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

It is strange how people can talk like this [See enclosure].

As long as we keep the army, the police and the prisons and the magistrates going, we are "killing Gandhi" over and over again and those who talk this way would see what they mean if we withdrew them.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

Zurich
12 November 1949

His Highness the Governor-General
for India
New Delhi

WITH THE MURDERER INDIA KILL GANDHI ONCE AGAIN THE SPIRIT WITHOUT USING
ANY FORCE. THE PEACE IN ALL THE WORLD AND HIMSELF. LET US WORK FOR
PEACE IN DEEDS AND ACTIONS.

WALTER NOETHIGER

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Government House
New Delhi
19 November 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You stand condemned by Mr. Jagadindu Bagchi [See enclosure].

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM JAGADINDU BAGCHI DATED 16-11-49
TO MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI

It was a small thing though, but a thing of deep import. I have it from the papers that 'the relatives of Godse and Apte were not permitted to be present at the time of the cremation', and yet 'the cremation was performed in accordance with Hindu Sanatanist rites. . . .'

It is this that I must condemn, if it means, as it seems to do, that the cremation was performed not by those who, according to the Sastras of age-old custom, were the right persons to do so, but by the jail authorities themselves. A man does not war with the dead. I wonder how your Government could be so blind as to deny two dead men a fundamental right like this.

CHAPTER VIII
UP CONGRESS AFFAIRS

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New Delhi
18 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Purushottam Das Tandon. This will speak for itself. I have written to Pantji also on the subject, also to Pattabhi.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
18 February 1949

My dear Tandon,

Some days ago I heard rather vaguely from second-hand sources about the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council of the UPPCC held in Lucknow. I was told that Chandra Bhan Gupta¹ wrote a letter to you, making serious charges against Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This letter was read out to the Council. I do not know the details of what happened. I was naturally concerned with this matter, both from the point of view of the Central Government and our provincial Government and the Congress. I mentioned it privately to the Governor-General and to Sardar Patel. I did not speak to anyone else. I did not even speak to Rafi Ahmed about it. I waited for further information. I expected that in view of what must be considered as a very serious development in our provincial politics and Congress affairs affecting a Minister of the Central Government, you might perhaps

¹ Minister in UP Government, 1943-57; Chief Minister, UP, 1962-63; resigned under Kamaraj Plan in 1963

write to me on the subject. Or perhaps Pantji might write to me. It seemed to me that matters could not be allowed to rest where they were.

I heard subsequently that Rafi Ahmed had written to you and Pantji as also to Dr. Pattabhi. Again I waited for further developments and did not speak to Rafi Ahmed on the subject.

Today Rafi Ahmed has sent me a letter drawing my attention to what happened at the UP Council meeting and to a reference in the Press to this meeting. He has also sent me a copy of Chandra Bhan Gupta's letter of 22 February addressed to you as President of the PCC. There are some other papers he has sent me also in regard to these matters. He has asked Dr. Pattabhi for an inquiry into this matter. He wished also to issue a Press statement in view of the news item which appeared in the Amrita Bazar Patrika. I have told him not to issue any Press statement because this is not merely a personal matter but something which affects the prestige of both the Central Government and the provincial Government as well as the Congress. This has to be dealt with therefore on another level than that of Press statements by individuals.

I must confess that I was feeling surprised that such a serious charge could have been made to the Council without any attempt previously to verify it from the persons concerned. Even after verification the matter should have been referred to me and then we could have taken such action as was deemed proper. Now there is no doubt that the charges are public property. They cannot be left there and something has got to be done. What exactly that should be, I am not clear in my mind at present, because I do not know all the facts. I shall be grateful to you if you could let me know such facts as are in your possession regarding what happened at the PCC meeting, what steps were taken to verify the charges made before the letter was read out, what answers have been sent to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to the explanation he has given, and what the PCC proposes to do now.

Please treat this matter as urgent.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pantji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri Purushottam Das Tandon
President, UPPCC
Lucknow

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
2 March 1949

Miss Padmaja Naidu¹
Government House
Lucknow

DEEPLY SHOCKED AND GRIEVED TO LEARN OF SAROJINI'S DEATH. YOUR FATHER HAS LOST HIS WIFE, YOU AND YOUR BROTHER AND SISTER A LOVING MOTHER BUT I HAVE LOST AN AFFECTIONATE SISTER. I MOURN HER LOSS WITH YOU ALL AND NATION SHARES OUR SORROW. WHEN HEART IS FULL WHAT COMFORT CAN I GIVE YOU. MAY GOD GIVE YOU ALL PATIENCE AND FORTITUDE TO BEAR THE IRREPARABLE LOSS.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Lucknow
4 March 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

KINDLY ACCEPT MY DEEPEST THANKS FOR YOUR GRACIOUS MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY. I REMEMBERED YOU AND MANIBEN WHEN I SAW MY MOTHER'S FACE BECAUSE I KNOW THAT BOTH OF YOU LOVED HER WELL.

LEELAMANI²

¹ Daughter of Sarojini Naidu; member, CA; Governor of West Bengal

² Elder daughter of Mrs. Naidu

Government House
Lucknow
4 March 1949

My dear Sardar,

I have your very beautiful and loving message of sympathy. I understand all that you have left unsaid because your own heart is bowed low with sorrow. I know that if it had been physically possible, you too would have joined the other life-long colleagues and comrades who have accompanied Mother on her last journey. She always had great affection and respect for you, and had watched your splendid achievements during the last few months with real pride.

I find it still very difficult to use words. But I do not want to delay in thanking you for all that you did for us on that terrible day. It would have been a bitter grief to my brother, if he had not reached Lucknow in time for the funeral and it was only your great kindness in making the necessary arrangements that made it possible. I am going to advert again upon your kindness in connection with the shraddha ceremony. The UP Government has decided that the asthi be performed at the Sangam in Allahabad on the eleventh. In addition we feel that my brother should take part of the ashes to Hyderabad for the ceremony to be performed there by him. It will be a comfort to my father and all our relations and friends there. I have been receiving numerous telegrams begging for the ashes to be sent there. But in view of the strained relations there among various political groups, we do not want any one group to exploit the occasion. In any case any ceremony done for Mother should be free from petty narrowness and jealousies. Do you think it proper for General Chaudhury¹ to be asked to set up a representative committee to organize it? If so, would you kindly communicate with him? My brother is going to Delhi by plane from Lucknow on Monday the 7th and proposes to start the same night by Grand Trunk Express for Hyderabad taking part of

¹ General J. N. Chaudhuri: Commander, Indian Armoured Division which entered Hyderabad during police action; Military Governor after police action; Chief of Army staff during Indo-Pak War of 1965

the ashes with him. He would hand them over to General Chaudhury's representative of the committee he sets up, on the 9th morning. Another portion of the ashes will be sent to Calcutta. In this way the three provinces with which Mother had intimate personal ties—Hyderabad, Bengal and the United Provinces—will all share in the last rites. I hope you approve of the plan.

With our love to Maniben and you,

Yours sincerely,
Padmaja Naidu

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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[Undated]

My dear Padmaja,

Thank you for your letter of 4 March. I cannot tell you how much I wanted to come to Lucknow; but, having returned from a long tour only a day previously, I was advised to take rest. I had, therefore, to remain in Delhi with a sorrowful heart.

2. As Shankar told you, Chaudhury is coming to Delhi tomorrow and I do not know when he is likely to return to Hyderabad. The notice is very short and I am not quite sure if it will be possible to make *satisfactory arrangements within* this short time. However, Shankar is getting in touch with General Chaudhury *on the telephone* and will find out what can be done. He will then inform Jaisuria¹ accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Kumari Padmaja Naidu
Government House
Lucknow

¹ Brother of Miss Padmaja Naidu

Lucknow
13 March 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have been closely following the reports of your multifarious activities with a certain amount of anxiety. You have been undergoing heavy and continuous strain. I was relieved to learn that you had stood it well. Still I feel that you have been over-exerting yourself. Since your return from tour you have been occupied with the sessions of the Constituent Assembly. The trend of discussions there does not seem to have been particularly gratifying. Some of the speeches appear to be altogether out of tune. I have since learnt that the matter has received attention. The lines that have now been chalked out will, I hope, prove adequate.

I have made enquiries about the complaints that were passed on to me by you last month. The matter is somewhat delicate and it had to be tackled with great care. Necessary material has almost been collected. There are, however, one or two points about which information has not yet reached here. They are of a minor character. Still it would be better to send you a comprehensive note covering every aspect. So I have withheld the report that I had intended to send to you yesterday. I hope to be able to do so in about a week. I think it can wait. There is no particular urgency.

Ninth passed off quietly. The Communists' bluff was called off effectively. There was no visible response anywhere. So far as I am aware, they had not cancelled their programme or instructions. If my impression is correct, then one could justifiably hold that they are fast losing influence. That is as it ought to be. If there is any serious danger to our State from any quarter it is from them. Although there was no disturbance anywhere, yet we have to be vigilant for some time. While there is no possibility of a strike in the near future in the railways or other essential undertakings, the possibility of sabotage can never be completely ruled out as even one or two men can hatch their plots and do mischief without giving any indication of their intentions. The worst is, however, passed and we expect that things will be quiet at least for some time.

The lawyers who were attending the enquiry before the Federal Court have reported to me the proceedings that were held there. I understand that Shri Shiva Prasad Sinha is to be examined on or about the 17th. They did not seem to be quite happy with the way things had moved there. They had a feeling that a local man having first hand knowledge of the questions in issue could have perhaps secured better results in cross-examination. However, that stage is passed now but Sinha has to be cross-examined thoroughly. I do not know whether the Advocate-General should himself undertake this task or ask one of his juniors, such as Shri Walter Dutt, to do so under his supervision and guidance.

I spoke to you twice on the telephone, but every time I failed to tell you what I had intended. My mind has not been at ease for some time and latterly I have been really unhappy. There is no grace in our public life. Even decency has lost all its significance and one gets depressed over certain extremely depressing features of every day life. I think that, so far as I am personally concerned, I can suffer quietly and leave others free to do and say what they like. But I feel sad and even guilty when I see others harassed and persecuted and myself occupying this position of responsibility. One of our active Congressmen and MLAs has been charged [with] most vile offences. A complaint has been filed and a great deal of publicity has been designedly given to this affair.

Our budget discussion will close on the 31st. However, I will, I hope, have occasion to meet you on the 27th.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

New Delhi
21 April 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 20 April 1949 which I have very carefully considered. I find that the previous Draft Order which was submitted to you was settled in consultation with the Advocate-General and the Law Secretary; actually, the draft was prepared by the Advocate-General himself. I myself feel, after very careful consideration, that we should adhere to the original draft.

The report of the Federal Court is a confidential document. It is open to us to decide, in the exigencies of the situation, whether a copy should be given to the Judge or not. We need not anticipate such a demand because there is no appeal and even if a demand comes, we can consider at the time, in consultation with our law advisers, whether a copy should be given.

Apart from the above consideration, I feel that in the larger public interests a recitation of the whole order in the order of dismissal would not be quite appropriate in a public notification. There are passages, even in the extract, as published, which imply a criticism of Government, the publicity to which may produce further controversies; in particular, I would refer to the following sentence:

“Having considered all the materials placed before us, we think that out of the five charges brought against the Judge, four have not been established and much of the court’s time was unnecessarily spent in investigating them.”

Publicity of the whole report in the light of the above remark might give rise to interested agitation in public that the enquiry was pursued in a vexatious manner and the Judge was unnecessarily harassed in regard to charges which the court has found a waste of time to deal with.

The report is not in the nature of a judgment, in that the reasons for and against a particular finding have not been given. Publication of the finding in extenso without reasons is likely to create misunderstandings. Whatever we have heard of the Judge indicates that he is a man who is likely to take the matter to

the press, if at all it serves his interests or enables him to fling mud at those who have taken a leading part in this enquiry.

On the whole, therefore, I am strongly of the opinion that public interests would be best served by saying as little as possible and in that respect I feel that the original draft order prepared by the Advocate-General is all that we need give out at least for the time being.

I am sending herewith, as desired by you, a copy of your letter to C.J., [Chief Justice] his reply and the draft order.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
Government House
New Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
22 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

As the UP Governor is coming tomorrow morning (by train), I have asked him to see me at 8.30 a.m.

Perhaps it would be best if you can kindly arrange also to come at that time. It seems he desires that I should have with me a legal expert! We may perhaps manage without one. Anyway Lal¹ is not here and I suppose Shankar is as ignorant or learned as you or me!

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹ Mr. Shivax Lal, Secretary to the Governor-General

Government House
New Delhi
26 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

After what you said and taking into account what I gathered from the Chief Justice, I concluded it was best to proceed without trying to give any further opportunity to the judge of the Allahabad Court. So the Chief Justice has returned my draft after agreeing to the proposal. I shall issue it to the Home Ministry tomorrow if you also have nothing more to suggest. Please return the draft and Chief Justice's letter when you reply.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

PS.

I have already sent back the file you left with me relating to this case.

CR

New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Sardar,

I enclose herewith a draft letter to the Premier of UP regarding rebate on sugarcane cess. You will remember that at the last meeting of the Cabinet you kindly agreed to issue the letter over your signature.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Government House
New Delhi
26 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

After what you said and taking into account what I gathered from the Chief Justice, I concluded it was best to proceed without trying to give any further opportunity to the judge of the Allahabad Court. So the Chief Justice has returned my draft after agreeing to the proposal. I shall issue it to the Home Ministry tomorrow if you also have nothing more to suggest. Please return the draft and Chief Justice's letter when you reply.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

PS.

I have already sent back the file you left with me relating to this case.

CR

New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Sardar,

I enclose herewith a draft letter to the Premier of UP regarding rebate on sugarcane cess. You will remember that at the last meeting of the Cabinet you kindly agreed to issue the letter over your signature.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Pantji,

You might recollect the meeting of the Cabinet Committee on 23 October last at my house when you were present, when questions relating to the price, production and distribution of sugar for the new season were discussed. While in deference to the view of the UP Government that the present cane price of Rs. 1/10/- a maund should continue, the Government of India finally decided to fix the statutory maximum price of Rs. 28/8/- per maund on the basis of your letter to Jairamdas [Doulatram] (a price which will still be relatively high to the consumer), they consider that in wider interests measures should be taken immediately for increasing the production of sugar to the maximum. As a direct inducement in this respect to the industry the Government of India have already announced a revenue concession in the shape of a lower rate of excise duty equivalent to As. -/12/- per cwt. This amount will be refundable to factories whose additional output of sugar during the season 1949-50 exceeds by more than 5% the production for the season 1948-49 and will be allowed in respect of all such additional quantities. In making this sacrifice of revenue the Government of India have been guided by the hope that it will enable factories, despite the continued high price of cane, to achieve effective increase in production.

2. When the question of inducement to industry to maximize production was discussed at the above meeting I understood you to say that the UP Government would be similarly agreeable to the grant of a similar concession in regard to cane cess levied under the Provincial Sugar Factories Control Act. At the present rate of As. -3/- per maund on cane this amounts to an addition of Rs. 1/14/- to the manufacturing cost of sugar. If I may suggest, the grant of a rebate on the cess of 25% will go a long way towards assisting the factories in increasing their output and the refund of the cess could also be arranged under conditions similar to the grant of the rebate of Central Excise duty. The fact that this concession will be available only to factories which increase their output over the previous year's figure by more than 5% will be a guarantee of increased production which in turn will mean both direct as well as indirect gains to the Provincial Government also

3. As the sugar season has commenced the Central Govt have already notified the excise duty concession so that the spur for greater effort on the part of factories might be there and I earnestly hope you will agree with

the suggestion and take similar action quickly regarding the grant of a concession on the cane cess.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier of UP
Lucknow

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New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 November 1949.

I have issued the letter to Pantji as in the draft enclosed with your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

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New Delhi
18 November 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

With reference to your letter received the other day about concessions in cess to induce increased production of sugar by the UP Government, I am sending herewith a copy of the reply which I have received from Pantji.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
17 November 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have to thank you for your letter of 11th inst.

I fully remember all that passed at the conference we had at your residence on 23 October. I have taken steps on the lines indicated by you. We have adopted the formula which was mentioned in the course of discussion on the 23rd and has since been announced by the Central Government with regard to the excise duty levied by it. In order to offer an inducement for the maximization of production of sugar we have announced that a rebate of nine pias per maund of sugarcane on the cess payable will be allowed to sugar factories in respect of sugar produced by them in excess of last year's output by more than five per cent, provided crushing is started in case of factories situated in the central and western range not later than 25 November and in the mid-eastern and eastern range not later than 10 December. These are the usual dates for starting the factories. I understand that some of them will begin their work in right earnest in a day or two. Others will, I hope, not delay matters unnecessarily. The concessions allowed by the Central and Provincial Governments will now come to about one rupee per maund of sugar and will, I hope, encourage the sugar factories to maximize production. The sugarcane crop is reported to be good and if the factories make full use of the opportunity that they have they should be able to produce all the sugar that we need.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
20 November 1949

My dear Pant,

During a discussion with representatives of sugar industry at which the following were present:

1. Lala Shri Ram
2. Shri D. R. Narang¹
3. Shri S. P. Jain
4. Shri Karamchand Thapar
5. Shri B. M. Birla²
6. Mr. O' Meally

it was decided that the sugar factories should start functioning as soon as possible and that the industry should try to aim at a target of 12 lakh tons in the next season. The industry, on their part, wanted us to give some concessions in order to make it worth their while to achieve this increased production. A list of their requests is as follows:

- (1) Total remission of excise duty on the quantity of sugar produced in excess of last season's production.
- (2) That so far as the usual excise duty is concerned the realization of one rupee out of it should be deferred to relieve the financial stringency in which a larger number of sugar factories are involved.
- (3) Total remission of provincial cess on the quantity produced in excess of last season's production. This excess should not be conditional on any particular quantity but the concession should be given on any quantity produced in excess of the previous season's production.
- (4) To enable the factories to bring cane from longer distances a substantial concession in railway freight be given.
- (5) Petrol for transport of cane by trucks be made available to the factories.

¹ An Industrialist owning sugar factories in UP

² Industrialist; President of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta; founder-president, Indian Sugar Mills Association

- (6) That the factories situated in the eastern districts of the United Provinces should be allowed compensations or subsidy out of sale proceeds of molasses as was agreed to by the UP Government last year.

We are considering requests (1), (2) and (4). You are concerned with requests (3), (5) and (6). At present, it does not seem possible for us to accept any other request except perhaps the first one, so far as we are concerned. As soon as our decision is reached, I shall let you know; in the meantime, you might like to have the matter examined at your end.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Lucknow

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New Delhi
21 November 1949

My dear Pantji,

I wrote to you a letter yesterday regarding our sugar production drive. Today a notification has issued exempting from the whole of the duty such quantity of sugar as is produced by a manufacturer during the next season in excess of the quantity of the sugar produced by him during the preceding year. I hope it will be possible for you now to take similar action in regard to cane cess. I would be grateful if you would kindly let me know as soon as possible the action taken. I also hope that you will be able to meet them as far as possible in regard to their other requests.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
Lucknow

Lucknow

27 November 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Thanks for your letters of 20 and 21 November 1949. I am grateful to you for all the trouble taken by you to induce the manufacturers to produce adequate quantity of sugar during the current season. If they will make use of all the cane that can be made available I trust there will be no difficulty in their fulfilling the undertaking they have given you. I have taken note of the proposals made by them and indicated by you in your letter. In accordance with your previous instructions, I have already issued necessary notification for the reduction of the cess on the excess sugar produced this year. The manufacturers were thus to receive a concession to the extent of 25 % of the cess on the quantity produced by them above 5 % of the total output of last year. That would have given them relief to the extent of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ annas per md. Now, if the excise cess is to be remitted completely along with the excise duty imposed by the Central Government, the combined benefit will exceed Rs. 4/- per md. I wonder if they need or deserve all this. But if you so direct, we will certainly comply with your wishes, otherwise I would suggest a reduction of the sugar cess by half, which would give them an advantage of about one rupee per md. I shall await your instructions.

I have referred the other two suggestions to the departments concerned, but they are of a minor character and need not cause any serious difficulty. It should be possible to settle them in a reasonable way.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
2 December 1949

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier United Provinces
Lucknow

THANKS YOUR LETTER OF 27 NOVEMBER REGARDING REMISSION OF CANE CESS ON EXCESS SUGAR PRODUCED IN 1949-50. AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION WE FEEL THAT CONCESSION HAD BETTER BE REMISSION OF FULL CANE CESS ON SAME LINES AS WE HAVE REMITTED EXCISE DUTY. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IN MARGINAL CASES. HOPE YOU WILL KINDLY TAKE ACTION ACCORDINGLY. WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD KINDLY EXPEDITE ACTION ON OTHER TWO SUGGESTIONS ALSO.

VALLABHBHAI

Lucknow
6 December 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Thank you for your telegram of 2 December. I am grateful to you for finding time for and giving thought to this subject which vitally affects the rural economy of our entire province. A number of factories have already started operations in the central and western regions and those in the eastern too will, I trust, make an early start. As I have already written to you, in this as in other matters I would certainly like to be guided by your wishes. I am not anxious to levy or realize any cess on the extra sugar that may be produced this year. There is, however, a marked disparity between the conditions prevailing in the eastern and western regions. The western factories, on account of the short duration of the season in Gorakhpur and adjoining districts, enjoy the benefit of a higher price than would otherwise be admissible for sugar produced by them. They have throughout

had more than a reasonable margin of profit. The factories in the Gorakhpur region had a difficult time for some years because of shortage of cane resulting in high overhead and other charges. The crushing season in the case of a large number of factories in the west is almost double the period for which the eastern factories actually work. The case of the latter deserves very sympathetic consideration. I was recently approached by Shri Narang and Shri Jaipuria in this connection. They were earnestly pleading for complete remission of cess on their excess production and also for transferring to them the benefit of similar remission in case it was possible to grant it to the western factories. I advised them to consult their colleagues. They have decided to hold a conference for this purpose shortly, so that the whole question may be settled by mutual agreement. I have agreed to attend this conference. I think you will approve of this proposal. I spoke to Shankar the other day on the telephone and will now have the opportunity of discussing the matter with him further tomorrow, so that he may give you a full and complete report.

I have asked for certain information regarding the output and sale proceeds of molasses etc. last year. There was some reference to this question also when I last saw Shri Narang. I have been ever prepared to render them whatever assistance I could and shall settle this matter too with them when I meet them next.

Orders have already issued for liberal issues of petrol for the transport of cane by trucks even by restricting the issue of petrol for public and private vehicles. Our supply is, however, short. I have already written to Jairamdasji to secure a special quota for this purpose, but in any case the transport of cane will receive priority.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Shankar has also come and told me about the discussion he had with you. I appreciate your position and hope that, as a result of the conference with the factory owners of East and West UP, you will arrive at a satisfactory solution. I am also grateful to you for the manner in which you have dealt with the other requests of the sugar industrialists.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit G. B. Pant
Lucknow

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Lucknow
16 December 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I had the conference to which I had referred in my last letter with the representatives of the sugar industry yesterday. We had, as desired by you, decided not to charge any cane cess for the benefit of Government on the excess production this year. It was, however, as indicated by me previously, desirable to secure some relief for the factories situated in the eastern districts of this province. The conditions prevailing in the eastern and western regions differ very materially and particularly on account of the short duration during which the factories work in eastern region they make little profit and it is possible that some of them may even be working at some loss. All factories were fully represented in the conference. We have with their full concurrence agreed to remit the cess completely on the extra sugar that may be produced this year in the eastern region. Corresponding rebate in the western region will, however, be half, but whatever we collect on the excess production will be made over to the eastern factories. This arrangement was approved unanimously by all who were present and by far the larger number among them belong to the western part. The Government will not thus receive anything by way of cane cess on extra production, but the factories situated in the eastern zone will get some relief. I trust that as a result of this adjustment the factories all over the province will make an earnest endeavour to produce the maximum amount of sugar they can.

I hope to see you on the 19th.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
9 July 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Just before you left, you wrote to me several letters to some of which I sent replies, but to some replies are still due. I shall now cover as many of the points raised in your letters as possible in this letter.

2. I have received a letter from Sri Babu [Sri Krishna Sinha]¹ about Bakshi, whom I had called for purposes of examination during the molasses scandal enquiry. It seems there is no love lost between Bakshi and Government. Sri Babu has cited some instances of Bakshi's indiscretion. However, I think I shall have to get his evidence and will have to send for him and I shall be writing to Sri Babu accordingly. From what Sri Babu writes, it seems that Bakshi is not free from blame. I am afraid I shall not be able to finish the Bihar enquiry in time for the Working Committee meeting. The statement of the Bihar Government on the question of molasses has come only today. I have to ask Kala Venkata Rao to go to Patna to record some oral evidence. This he will do after the Congress Working Committee meeting. After he has finished taking oral evidence it should not take me long to submit my report.

3. Regarding Lohia, as I had informed you the night before you left, it was decided to release him. You have probably seen our communique. Lohia has since met Pressmen. It seems he is none the wiser; if at all, there is very little change in him. However, he is more a headache for his own party than for us.

4. Patil has written to me that he very much wants to continue as an MLA, while holding his job. This is only fair because he is after all leaving his Ministership at our call and I think we

¹ Congress leader who was Premier of Bihar, 1937-39 and for a decade after independence

should facilitate his reverting to his province when he ceases to be so employed.

5. I have had a long talk with Syama Prasad. I have also been receiving several communications regarding West Bengal. Some of them request me to dissuade you from visiting Calcutta because of the risk involved. Some people have also come and seen me on that matter. I have come to the view that your visit to Calcutta is, if at all, somewhat overdue. I do hope it will succeed in steadying public opinion. After you return from Calcutta, we shall see what should be done.

6. Regarding elections, I had a long discussion with Pantji when he came here on the 4th. There are serious considerations which he has urged against the elections and on carefully thinking over them I feel that we must think further about it. As he points out, the problem of discipline and revitalizing the Congress is not solved by an election. It is an internal organizational problem which can better be solved now than during or after elections. Elections will also dislocate the work of Provincial Governments and will create financial as well as organizational problems for the Congress. We can ill afford to get involved in these difficulties. He urged that after all the elections to the Provincial Assemblies took place only three years ago. Ordinarily, the Provincial Assemblies are entitled to continue for five years and he cannot see any reason why now there should be an appeal to the electorate merely because some doubters or challengers have made their presence felt. He feels that the problem is principally organizational and must be tackled as such and if it cannot be tackled, any appeal to the electorate will not make it easier to tackle it. I think all these points require very careful consideration. We can discuss the matter when I come there. In the meantime, we can go ahead with the question of elections to the Central Parliament in November or December.

7. We have had a lot of discussion on the question of salaries of High Court judges and other matters. I have sent you already a Note which Shri Prakash Narayan Sapru left with me. I am sending you herewith a copy of an editorial which has appeared in the London Times on the same subject. I am also sending you a copy of the Note which has been sent to me by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court as containing the considered views of the Judges of that High Court. I am also sending herewith a Note which the Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court has given to me. My own feeling is that we must revise the decision of the

Constituent Assembly in regard to the ban on practice after retirement and the Cabinet decision in regard to salaries. If you think it proper, you might circulate these notes and the editorial to members of the Cabinet.

8. I hope you had a comfortable trip to Ladakh. I have been following your visit through the papers. It seems you have created a great impression among Ladakhis.

9. I have seen Attlee's reply to our approach in regard to possibility of Pakistan's attack on Kashmir. It is a disappointing reply and in some ways rather makes matters worse in that Pakistan will now come to know of this approach. I am afraid we can rule out any help and co-operation from Britain in settling this point. Indeed, it seems that they are determined not to disturb British military officers who are in Pakistan.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

New Delhi
9 July 1949

My dear Sardar,

I have just glanced at the recommendations of the Rao Committee for a model constitution for States and Unions of States. Roughly, it approximates with the provisions in the Union Constitution for provinces except in the matter of provisions for Rulers, their purses, etc.

But now, if the Constituent Assemblies in different States or Unions of States were to consider the same in their own right before adopting the model constitution, they are sure to come out with a number of amendments which would defeat the main object of attaining uniformity in Constitutions of provinces and States in legislation and administration throughout India.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. Diwakar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Camp Dehra Dun

Dehra Dun
11 July 1949

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of 9 July 1949. I am now feeling much better and am coming back to Delhi on the 15th morning.

The whole position regarding constitution-making in the States is likely to undergo a change. We are thinking of how best to do away with the approval of the Constituent Assemblies and to replace that procedure by some simpler method. I do not anticipate any difficulty in getting the decisions of the Constituent Assembly in regard to the constitution for States endorsed by the State or Union Constituent Assemblies.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri R. R. Diwakar
Minister of State for Information & Broadcasting
Government of India
New Delhi

New Delhi
15 July 1949

My dear Jawaharlal/Rajaji,

I am sending herewith a copy of Sir B. L. Mitter's¹ letter to Sir Mirza Ismail² which was seen during censorship.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

¹ Advocate General of India; member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1928-34; Dewan of Baroda

² Private Secretary to Maharaja of Mysore, 1922; Dewan of Mysore, 1926-41; Prime Minister of Jaipur, 1942-46; Prime Minister of Hyderabad, 1946-47

Government House
New Delhi
17 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have seen the stuff—Mitter-Mirza correspondence. It is painful reading.

Yours sincerely,
Raja

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
19 July 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

A day before your departure for Ladakh I had a talk with you about the future of Delhi and referred therein to a note by Shankar Prasada [Chief Commissioner] on this subject [See enclosure]. That note has been circulated to the Cabinet. Munshi has now come from Bombay. I had sent a copy of that note to Munshi also. Yesterday I had a talk with him. Munshi feels that, in view of the note, Government should give him a clear line on which to work so that he can prepare a draft Bill accordingly. I would, therefore, suggest that the matter may again be discussed by the Cabinet at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A NOTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF DELHI PROVINCE BY MR. SHANKAR PRASADA, ICS, CHIEF COMMISSIONER, DELHI

In conclusion, therefore, I feel that Delhi province should continue to be centrally administered as at present. In principle, a corporation may be conceded to meet local requirements and aspirations. The model should be carefully chosen and the transfer of powers, especially in regard to public utilities, should be gradual. Consequential legislation can come when the conditions are ripe. Other administrative changes, such as the remodelling of the executive and the judiciary, should await better times and not be hustled with indecorous haste in a period of exceptional difficulty.

Shankar Prasada

Delhi

30 June 1949

MEETING OF THE CABINET HELD ON 26 JULY 1949 TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE ADMINISTRATION OF DELHI

The Cabinet was of the view that the administration of New Delhi should be separate from the administration of Old Delhi and Notified Areas. For the whole of the urban area other than New Delhi a corporation might be set up with the largest powers but not including such powers and functions as law and order, judiciary, public health, Delhi University and other subjects which may be specified. New Delhi should have a separate administration in view of the fact that it consists largely of official institutions, Government offices, property owned by Government and foreign embassies, legations and chancelleries. A central co-ordinating authority for co-ordinating the activities of these two bodies, as well as of any body which might be set up for the rural areas of Delhi, should also be created.

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New Delhi
23 October 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

During my morning and evening rounds in Old and New Delhi, I have been noticing a very considerable deterioration in the sanitary condition and appearance of the streets and the foot-paths [and] open spaces along the streets. Apart from being most

unsightly and insanitary, they are a distinct blot on the capital city. Further, apart from being intrinsically objectionable, I am sure, the foreign visitors to the Capital must be leaving India with a very bad impression of the civic conditions, both of New and Old Delhi, but not so much the latter as the former.

2. My own views on this matter are very clear. It is no use having palatial buildings worthy of the capital city if along with them, you have unsightly and insanitary structures which disfigure the whole city. I would much prefer that we go to another place where we can live in more compact, less ostentatious but cleaner and simpler buildings. I think we have got to make up our mind whether we should continue to live in the conditions which I have described above or in view of such difficulties which you might be experiencing in dealing with this situation, we must think of an alternative capital.

3. At the same time, I must say that it is impossible for me to accept the argument that there is no alternative to these present conditions which subsist in New and Old Delhi. I feel that if we deal with the problem with firmness and imagination, we should be able to remove these blots on the civic life in the city. I should, therefore, like to know what your plans are in dealing with this problem, what is the time factor involved and, in the meantime, what action is being taken to keep the city safe from any likely epidemics.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Rajkumari.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Saksena
Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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New Delhi
26 October 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I thank for your letter dated 23 October 1949 regarding the deterioration in the sanitary condition and appearance of the streets of Delhi.

I readily concede that sanitary conditions in Delhi have deteriorated seriously in recent months, and the problem has been

exercising my mind for some time. I have referred this question to the committee of the Cabinet more than once; and I need hardly assure you that we are fully alive to the imperative need of keeping the capital clean and in a state of health, and we shall do all in our power to improve the metropolis. But, I think, in this task the municipal bodies of Delhi, the Improvement Trust and the Ministry of Health have also a part to play. I have a feeling that among the squatters there is a fairly large number of non-refugees who cannot be the responsibility of our Ministry. If, therefore, further deterioration is to be prevented and the city is to attain a standard worthy of the capital of the country, we all will have to pool our resources to achieve the end.

When the exodus started in 1947, there was no effective machinery which could regulate the movement of displaced persons or effect their speedy rehabilitation, with the result that a very large number of displaced persons moved into Delhi.

According to the census taken last year the number of displaced persons in Delhi was 3,82,000; but this, we believe, is an undercount. The correct figure would perhaps be in the neighbourhood of 4,50,000 to 5,00,000.

Delhi is the seat of authority and a centre of attraction for business men, large and small, who constitute the bulk of the local displaced population. What is more, the progress of rehabilitation in the neighbouring provinces of East Punjab and UP has not been keeping pace with Delhi, with the result that the city population has increased beyond capacity. Nor has it been possible for us to disperse refugees from Delhi. We stopped rations in Delhi on 14 April 1949, that is, long before we did so elsewhere; we also started a separate camp for destitutes at Okhla; but no one moved out of Delhi. Anyway, whatever the cause, I entirely agree with you that we should deal with the problem with firmness and imagination.

At one time, the quota of displaced persons in Delhi was fixed at 1,00,000. This was obviously too small and so we pressed for its revision. It was then raised to 2,50,000, and has now been increased to 3,00,000, including a share of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ to the army authorities for their ex-service personnel. Even so this quota falls far short of the actual numbers in Delhi. And then we have a large population of unregistered refugees who are not entitled to rehabilitation benefits in Delhi.

We appointed, at the suggestion of Jawaharlalji, an ad hoc committee to assess the magnitude of the problem and to suggest

ways and means of fighting the menace of growing displaced population in Delhi. This committee, which also included representatives of local bodies, formulated its proposals and recommended that in Delhi arrangements may be made for providing accommodation to 10,000 families of squatters at a cost of about Rs. 2 crores.

We were hoping to meet the problem of squatters out of our own resources, and are still trying to do so. We have started clearing the city road by road. Chandni Chowk has already been cleared; and we soon hope to mop up the entire area from Delhi Gate to the Red Fort. Unfortunately our budget for Delhi housing schemes has been reduced from Rs. 3.18 crores to Rs. 2 crores. The schemes in hand, and those implemented last year, cater for a population of about 60,000. Another 1,90,000 are living in evacuee houses. This provides for 2,50,000 displaced persons in all. Next year, we hope to provide accommodation for the remaining 50,000 to meet the total Delhi quota of 3,00,000, provided sufficient funds are found from within the depleted budget for the Delhi housing schemes. But the problem of a major portion of the squatters will still remain unsolved. The only course, therefore, seems to be that we should make special arrangements for the housing of the squatters who are lying on the roadside and are a blot on the civic life of the city. I would, therefore, suggest that an additional sum of Rs. 2 crores should be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Rehabilitation over and above our present budget, to enable us to shift the squatters to the suburbs of Delhi.

If this is done it will be possible, I trust, to provide houses and shops for the 10,000 families of squatters within about a year or so.

From the statement which I am enclosing giving you details of the housing schemes for 60,000 persons, you will notice that there is a provision for 2,000 plots [for], say, 10,000 persons. The plots have been allotted; but it has not been possible, for want of funds, to advance loans for the construction of houses and shops, with the result that so far not a single house has been constructed by the refugees.

You have also raised the question of shifting the capital from Delhi. I am inclined to agree with your view; but this is a larger issue which is to be decided by the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
Mohanlal Saksena

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 October 1949

Pujya Sardar,

I am in receipt of a copy of your letter to Mohanlal Saksena.

I need hardly reiterate my great unhappiness and anxiety about health and sanitary conditions in Delhi over the last two years. I have written and written in vain about a strict policy for evacuating Delhi. Not only has nothing tangible been done in this regard but in my opinion more and more refugees and even non-refugees are flocking into Delhi. As you know the Improvement Trust has been more or less impoverished by the demands made on it for giving land for the resettlement of refugees.

On 22 April I called a meeting myself to consider ways and means of ridding the capital city of what has become a positive menace. Certain decisions were arrived at but owing to some objections raised by the Financial Adviser to the CC [Chief Commissioner] on the ground that all building work must be supervised by the CPWD work was held up. The CC then asked the Ministry of Rehabilitation to take it up and I believe they hope to do something about it soon. These delays are interminable and in any event the 5 lakhs sanctioned for this work could only have touched a small fringe of the problem.

In the teeth of opposition I had the pavement squatters in Connaught Circus turned out last May but it is really impossible for local authority to function without the complete backing of the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

I feel the problem could be solved by firm action. The capital city should be purged of petty hawkers most of whom are superfluous to our needs. I am sure many mofussil towns of East Punjab, e.g. Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and their sub-divisions could quite well have been enlarged to accommodate several thousands but we have not had any clear planning.

As far as epidemics are concerned I can assure you that the health authorities are doing all they can against heavy odds. The municipalities have really done extremely well and spent large

sums of money without any increase in income from the increased population. I have had to cater to the medical needs of lakhs in the Delhi hospitals without any extra grant. We shall continue to co-operate but it is becoming increasingly difficult and the refugees do not give the co-operation they should in the matter of keeping their surroundings clean.

It seems a tragedy that the Government of India offices should be asked to leave Delhi because of lack of room and yet Delhi should be saddled with an ever increasing quota of refugees. Something drastic must be done and done very soon so that the invasion of Delhi may be brought to an end and the capital city allowed to function normally.

Pranams from Amrit Kaur

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
27 November 1949

My dear Rajkumari,

You left with me the other day a note on the future of Delhi. I have carefully considered this matter and have also had a discussion with Shankar Prasada.

I am quite definite on two points; one is that New Delhi must be excluded from any scheme of a corporation. Apart from its being the seat of the Central Government, the majority of its inhabitants are Government servants. They would be debarred from taking part in municipal affairs, except on nominated bodies. It would virtually mean entrusting the management of New Delhi to a minority of its inhabitants who would not have any substantial stake or interest in the administration. Moreover, in the administration of New Delhi, Government must have much more say than in the other parts of Delhi and such a distinction would be possible only if we excluded New Delhi from the general scheme.

The second point is that there should be no provision, nor should any hope be held out, that this measure of self-government is merely an instalment and that further measures of self-government might follow. I am quite clear in my mind that in Delhi and its environments we cannot have a whole paraphernalia of regular provincial self-government. The subjects which we would transfer to the Corporation should be final, except that minor

adjustments might be made in future as a result of the working of that body. I should also like to ensure that statutory bodies, like the Water and Sewage Board, the Electricity Board, the Passenger Board, and the Improvement Trust maintain their more or less autonomous existence of today.

You will, of course, have to look into the question of finance. The proposed corporation must be financially as self-sufficient as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Minister for Health
New Delhi

EXTRACT

COPY OF NOTE SUBMITTED TO THE MINISTER FOR HEALTH BY A
DEPUTATION CONSISTING OF MR. YUDHVIR SINGH, SHRI RADHA
RAMAN AND SHRI BRAHMA PRAKASH

THE PROPOSAL

About the proposals of the Chief Commissioner we have [not] studied them in detail nor are we prepared to comment upon them at this stage except that from a cursory perusal of them we find that the Chief Commissioner has been unnecessarily given more power e.g. the appointment of executive officer and the accounts officer etc.

The Mayor's position has been reduced to only a presiding officer without any powers of supervision or control over the corporation and the proposals have been framed on the basis of the Bombay Corporation Act which was enacted by foreigners with their own motives and aims.

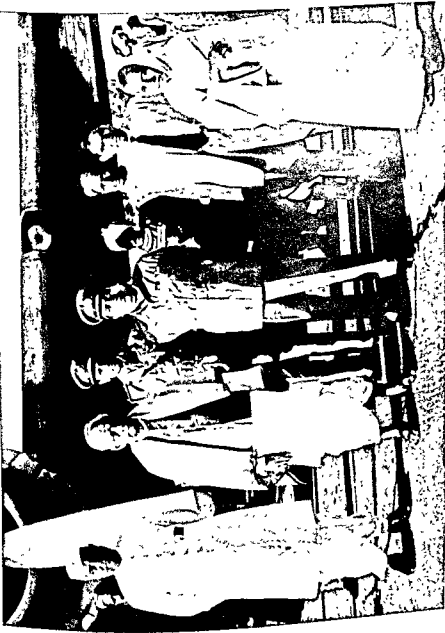
However we are very particular about 1st and 2nd points and if they are once decided upon we shall be putting our note about these proposals after scrutinizing them carefully.

275

New Delhi
27 December 1949

My dear Rajkumari,

I have seen the correspondence that has passed between your Deputy Secretary and the Deputy Commissioner as President of the New Delhi Municipal Committee in regard to the removal of stall-holders from in front and the vicinity of Birla



SARDAR PATEL AND MANIBEN (RIGHT) WITH THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA (CENTRE) AND HIS CHIEF MINISTER,
DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA, (LEFT) AT BARODA AERODROME BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR NEW DELHI

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SARDAR PATEL AND MANIBEN (RIGHT) WITH THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA (CENTRE) AND HIS CHIEF MINISTER, DR. JIVRAJ MEHTA, (LEFT) AT BARODA AERODROME BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR NEW DELHI



TAKING A SALUTE AT A POLICE PARADE AT NAGPUR IN NOVEMBER 1948.

BEHIND THE SARDAR IS PANDIT RAVISHANKAR SHUKLA, PREMIER OF GUJARAT.

Temple. I confirm that this was done under my instructions. As you know, lately I have been going out for drives in the morning and, for the first time, I have been able to get some idea of how unsightly and insanitary stalls have been spreading all over New Delhi. I have been asking the Deputy Commissioner to remove these stalls from time to time and I think he has succeeded in doing so in a good number of cases. The presence of stalls in front and in the vicinity of Birla Temple is a scandal. Perhaps equally scandalous are the stalls near the church right in front of the Government of India offices in the hutments. I suggested the removal of the latter some time ago. As regards the former, the nuisance was even greater because they almost covered the whole frontage of the Temple. Even now, I am not quite satisfied with the site that has been assigned to these stalls. They still continue as an unsightly patch in that area. I would prefer their removal altogether and their establishment in a proper market. In any case, I feel that there should be no interference with any attempts to restore a certain amount of order, sanitation and good appearance on the roads in New Delhi. Any sympathy with the refugees in this respect is, to my mind, misplaced. I feel myself that the New Delhi Congress Committee can devote themselves to better undertakings from a civic point of view than to take up the cause of these refugee stall-holders. On the other hand, I should like them to co-operate with the authorities in the removal of many more of these unsightly and insanitary structures and I hope your Ministry will give the local authorities every encouragement in this essential civic endeavour.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Minister for Health
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 July 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

At the last meeting of the Working Committee I was asked to draft a letter which the Central Parliamentary Board might issue to leaders of Congress parties on the subject of grouping in the legislatures. I enclose a draft.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

The Working Committee recently considered the case of the formation of a group in the Congress Party in a provincial legislature. They took a serious view of this as it could only lead to the disruption of the party. No party, especially in a legislature, can function adequately and effectively if it splits up into groups and loses all sense of discipline. The Working Committee, therefore, were of opinion that such group formations could not be permitted within the party in the legislature. On their views being conveyed, the people who had formed this group decided to carry out the directions of the Working Committee and dissolved the group.

The Central Parliamentary Board wishes to make it quite clear that no groups can be formed within the Congress Party in any legislature. Any persons forming or promoting such groups will be guilty of indiscipline against the basic rules governing the party. They would in fact be going against the pledge that they gave when they stood as Congress candidates and were so elected.

This matter was further discussed in the Working Committee and it was pointed out that such groups often take shape at the time of the election of the leader of the party or on some similar occasion. It has been noticed that sometimes after such an election, the leader, who becomes premier, selects his Cabinet from those who voted for him in the election as leader. This tends to result in these persons, who voted for him, themselves beginning to function rather as a group, with the result that the others in

the party also tend to function as a group. This tendency must be avoided. In the opinion of the Central Parliamentary Board, Ministries should always be formed of the best talent available in the party and should not be based on a particular group in the party. The leader must always remember that he is the leader of the whole party and not of a group. If he functions in this way, there will be very little chance of group formations. Not only in the formation of a Ministry, but in the formation of boards, committees and the like, the leader should draw upon the best people available, so that it should not be thought that he is confining his choice to a particular group or set of people in the party. This practice would not only lead to the choice of the best talent but would also promote the cohesion of the party and prevent any tendency towards the formation of groups.

The Central Parliamentary Board would draw your particular attention to this matter. There are far too many disruptive tendencies at work in the Congress organization, and even, unfortunately, in Congress parties in the legislatures. These tendencies have to be combated. This can only be done effectively if the leader deals with the party as a whole, in the manner suggested above, and makes it quite clear that he will not encourage the formation of a group either in support of him or in any sense critical of him.

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The Flat
Welham Hall
Malton, Yorkshire
2 August 1949

My dear Sardar,

I have written recently to Sardar Baldev Singh, to Panditji, and to the Governor-General. They, therefore, have much of our news, both private and also of this country.

We were very glad to receive your letter thanking us for our enquiries about your health, after what must have been a very frightening forced landing. Maureen and I both hope that you are by now fully recovered, and that you have not found the hot weather too trying.

Sir George Campbell of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, an old friend of mine, wrote the other day telling me he was dining one night with Mr. Birla. Had we known of the latter's visit to London beforehand, we would have much liked to have had him to stay with us for a few days, could he have found the time. Alas, he has come and gone.

I was glad to learn yesterday that the ceasefire line in Kashmir had now been properly agreed as the result of the recent meeting of high army officers at Karachi. I wonder if an agreeable truce will quickly be implemented.

There appears to be much indiscipline and hooliganism in Calcutta. It is a great pity that this should be the case, as with the very excitable populace, rumour and talebearing soon fan minor squabbles into large-scale disturbances. The papers here give you full credit for being able to deal with the situation very thoroughly!! I have been trying to make up my mind whether this country is really well or sick. Labour says all is well, and the Conservatives shout that everything is rotten. My own opinion is that nationalization has been too speedily rushed into, and that the control of the industries so taken over is far too rigidly centralized in London. If there is to be keenness in any concern, those responsible for local control must have a good measure of responsibility.

In Edinburgh the other day one of the two big railway stations was in a state of chaos because of the crowds proceeding on holiday for the weekend. Queues for tickets, for left luggage, for restaurants, and for each and every one of the trains were very long. The station itself was incredibly dirty. Whilst in Scotland we travelled third class in a number of local, as opposed to main line, trains. The carriages were very uncared for, seat upholstery torn and rent. I regret it is true to say that although the main line expresses are clean and comfortable the minor trains remain in the state in which they were at the end of the war.

Maureen and I were in Newcastle recently. There we met the heads of several shipping businesses. They all said there was no longer any interest in their work as they were so restricted by quotas and many other controls put out by the Board of Trade. Newcastle used to be a very large port for the export of coal. That trade has now dwindled.

Everyone here seems to be agreed that production costs are too high. If this is so, the only real answer, to my mind at any rate, is better management, modern methods of machine production, and better work resulting in greater output per individual. Because of the possibility of an election, neither Labour nor the Conservatives seem willing to get down to our root troubles but indulge in mutual abuse.

I shall write again before long. In the meantime, Maureen and I send you and Miss Patel our love and our very best wishes

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for the future. We both miss India, and all the many good friends there who were so kind and considerate to us.

Yours very sincerely,
Roy [Bucher]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister, India
New Delhi

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Bombay
19 August 1949

My dear General Bucher,

Thank you for your letter of 2 August 1949.

2. I am very glad to have from you your impressions of so many things, both here and in England. I am afraid my health deteriorated as a result of recurring strain, and the doctors advised me to come to Bombay and have some rest and treatment. I have followed their advice and have now improved.

3. You must have got the latest news about Kashmir. The commission have called off the conference which was to have taken place on the 22nd about the truce proposals. I do not know what led to this change of decision. Our respective points of view were no secret to the commission and if their restatement has come as a shock to them all that I can say is that they should have been the last person to have been surprised.

4. You must have noticed a period of quiet in Calcutta. From a distance we are apt to give undue importance to a stray incident here and there. The fact remains that on the whole both the city and the country are peaceful, and so far as the law and order position is concerned I can make bold to say that it is much better than India has known for years past. At the same time, it would be folly to conceal some undercurrent of discontent. This was inevitable as a result of the gulf between expectation and achievement, a gulf which was forced upon us by our having to bestow attention on more pressing problems of a more or less fundamental nature. However, we hope to make up the deficit and I do not anticipate that in effect there would be any appreciable diminution in public morale.

5. I note what you say about the conditions in the UK. Some other friends have also been writing to me to the same

effect. There seems to be, however, a scant appreciation of the basic rule that there are certain forces of economic and political events which defy human endeavour for a considerably long time. It is easy to blame Government for the many sins of commission or omission, but we have to be sure that an alternative would be better and have to remember that it may well lead to worse things and ultimately chaos.

With our best wishes to Lady Bucher and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

General Sir Roy Bucher
The Flat
Welham Hall
Malton
Yorkshire, England

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New Delhi
2 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Nearly every province has intimated to me that frequent conferences in Delhi come very much in the way of provincial work. Indeed, some Minister or other from each province always appears to be travelling up to Delhi. Senior officials are also summoned. Apart from this, Premiers and some other Ministers attend important sessions of the Constituent Assembly.

The result of all this is that provincial work suffers greatly. It is obvious that meetings in Delhi are necessary from time to time both for the personal contact gained and for discussions on important matters. Nevertheless, this can be overdone and I would earnestly suggest to you to avoid summoning any provincial Minister or high official unless there is urgent and unavoidable reason for it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Government House
New Delhi
4 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This is a copy of a letter I am sending to the Prime Minister about yesterday's talk with the Advocate-General.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Government House
New Delhi
4 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlalji,

As I had told you I had a conference with the Advocate-General and the Home and Law Secretaries yesterday and I am writing this to let you know the upshot. Vallabhbhai will know it from Mr. Iengar and I am also sending him a copy of this.

My object in having this conference was to clear up certain grave doubts I felt and to do it without putting a strain on Vallabhbhai's health which is so unsatisfactory now.

The Advocate-General after considering the points I put to him agreed that the idea of preferring an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the Bihar case judgment of the Federal Court should be dropped and that we may rest content with setting matters right by legislation or ordinance.

The more far-reaching significance of this judgment of the Federal Court was also fully discussed. The Advocate-General was of the opinion that any appeal to the Privy Council on the Bihar case would not help us in this wider significance. If a point arose any time involving the extended application of the Federal Court's dictum it would be open to us to argue and deal with it on that occasion as effectively as we could do in an appeal filed against the Bihar case judgment.

The Advocate-General held the view that we must suspend execution of the sentence passed on Nathuram Godse [Gandhi's assassin] in view of the appeal he has filed on the conspiracy charge although the condemned prisoner had pressed for immediate execution. The Advocate-General advised that he was clear in his mind that the delay could not be attributed to Government and was the result of the prisoner's own decision to file an appeal on the connected charge. The Advocate-General was also of the opinion that we cannot put the matter at an early stage to Their Lordships of the Judicial Committee and obtain their instructions, as I had thought we might do.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister

PS.

I have just learnt that the Home Ministry has advised Bihar by telegram to abandon the idea of an appeal to the Privy Council.

C. R.

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New Delhi
4 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Rajaji has drawn my attention to the enclosed cutting from the Indian Republic of 3 August, with which the Congress President is reported to be connected. The message is from the local correspondent of the paper and naturally the suggestion would be that the information was secured somehow from AICC circles. I am sure you will agree that the publication of this news item is deplorable. As it is, it is no easy task to maintain the administration in the face of abuses and vituperations. Carrying these things to the Press increases the difficulty manifold. As you probably know, another member of the Working Committee is already carrying on a campaign against the present Ministry. If to that is added a propaganda from Delhi, it is going to cause us a great deal of embarrassment.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

From Our Correspondent

New Delhi, 2 August: The West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee have demanded a judicial enquiry into certain charges which they levelled against three Ministers of the West Bengal Cabinet, including the Premier.

Giving details of the charges against Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Premier, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Finance Minister, and Mr. Prafulla Sen, Minister for Civil Supplies, the Congress Committee have submitted a closely typed 12-page memorandum to the Congress Working Committee.

One of the charges against Dr. B. C. Roy, according to the memorandum, is that he obstructed the investigation by Central anti-corruption police into a cloth muddle and secured the release of a big business man. It is also said of Dr. Roy that he caused permits for one thousand bales of cloth to be issued to a business man whom the Bombay Government had found guilty of corruption and blackmarketing.

Another charge against the West Bengal Premier relates to the purchase of a scrap aeroplane by the Government from Dr. B. C. Roy's company for a sum of Rs. 75,000.

There is also a charge of nepotism against the Premier in respect of half a dozen high posts carrying salaries between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 filled without reference to the Bengal Public Service Commission.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Finance Minister, is stated to have misused his official position to further the interests of two companies in which he was interested—the N. R. Sarkar and Company and the Hindusthan Development Corporation.

Mr. Prafulla Sen, Civil Supplies Minister, is charged with issuing permits for political ends in respect of cloth, cement, salt, etc. Allocation of wagons also is another count on which the Minister is charged with indiscretion.

A PTI message from Calcutta says: In view of the general elections taking place soon in West Bengal, the two by-elections announced in the 24 Parganas Central (rural Mohammadan) constituency and the Hooghly-cum-Howrah Municipal Mohammadan constituency are being called off, it was learnt here today.

Indian Republic
Madras

Bombay
19 August 1949

My dear Munshi,

I have had some enquiries from Delhi regarding the question of Hindi. Tandonji has also written to me. From what you told me, I gathered the impression that everything had been amicably settled and there was no controversy, but these enquiries and Tandonji's letter give me a contrary impression. It is a vital question, in which it is necessary for us to take both a long-range and practical view of the problem. I know the feeling and strength behind the many currents and cross-currents in the party on this question. Happily, however, the range of controversy has been narrowed. I feel that it might be of some assistance if I gave you, and through you to the party, an indication of my views on this question. I hope what I state will assist in the solution of this very important problem.

2. There seems to be a consensus of opinion as to the place of Hindi in Devanagari script. It will, and must, be the national or official language of India. Once we accept this basic fact, from which I see no escape, everything that follows must fit in with that fact. We cannot have any incongruity or inconsistency on this issue in the Constitution. Even where we have to depart from the logical consequences of this decision because of practical difficulties, we must not ignore that basic fact. To act otherwise would be bringing into ridicule one of the basic and fundamental articles of the Draft Constitution.

3. In these circumstances, it seems to me quite clear that we must bring about a state of affairs which would permit the attainment by Hindi of its due position as official language in the shortest time possible. The time factor is undoubtedly important in order that the old order of things can be adapted to this new fact. I, however, feel that ten years should be an adequate period, in which things may be moved to a complete change at the end of it. In other words, at the end of ten years' period, English should be replaced completely by Hindi. This would necessitate a recognition of two official languages within the ten years' period, namely, English and Hindi. I consider it necessary because

we cannot have a paper official language as Hindi and an effective official language as English. The best course, consistent with our dignity as well as our sense of responsibility, would, therefore, be to face the facts squarely and to recognise a bilingual period of ten years as being forced on us by history and existing circumstances. At the same time, we cannot leave things to develop on their own. The Government will owe to the Constituent Assembly which has framed the Constitution as well as to the people on whose behalf the Constitution will have been framed, to make every effort to bring about that change within that period and to create conditions, whereby progressively Hindi would be taking the place of English. In other words, Government must, during this period, make such administrative changes from time to time and issue such administrative directives and orders which would gradually replace English by Hindi. As to what extent, in what manner and in what localities and at what speed all this should be done must obviously be a matter for Government to consider. Any expert advice on this issue is unlikely to help us. Experts are more dogmatic than helpful. I would, therefore, suggest that instructions on these points may from time to time issue from the President, which would of course mean the Dominion Government on the advice of a committee of the Legislature, elected on the basis of proportional representation, so that there would be representation of all points of view. This committee would, of course, be advisory in character, because Government must be free to determine its attitude in the light of practical considerations. But I have no doubt that Government would, in an overwhelming measure, be guided by the advice of this committee.

4. From what I have said above, it follows that we must have Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language. There can be no question of a hybrid language, such as suggested in some quarters which have recommended Arabic numerals in place of Hindi numerals. In any case, recognition of English as official language in the first ten years amply meets the points and difficulties of our friends from the South.

5. To sum up, therefore, I would suggest to the party for consideration the following propositions:

- (a) Hindi in Devanagari script (both letters and numerals) should be recognized as the national or official language.

New Delhi
23 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of 21 August about the INA. I am myself surprised at the amount demanded. Rs. 50,000 is a very big sum for a conference of a few hundred persons. It will be wasted in this way. I would suggest that at the most Bhonsle should invite a number of representatives, say, about 25 or 30, to discuss any matters he wishes to place before them and generally to wind up the show. Or else we might simply give our own decision.

There is one danger just at present. Various forces are pulling at the remnants of the INA, for instance Mohan Singh, etc. Unless some prominent INA men dissociate themselves from these people publicly, there will be a general impression that the INA had gone against the Congress. Many of the INA persons may themselves think that this has happened. So it would be desirable for a number of them to meet and dissociate themselves. Perhaps the best thing would be to discuss this thing with Bhonsle.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Bombay 6
28 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 23 August 1949 regarding the INA.

I have also received your letter in reply to mine relating to the privy purses of Princes and other items.

I notice that your programme is quite full and practically all your time, except that taken up by the Constituent Assembly, is booked almost up to the date of your departure for the UK

and the USA. In these circumstances, I would not like to trouble you to come all the way to Bombay; in fact, it is possible that I myself may come to Delhi earlier than I expected. I went out for my first drive today and I am glad to say that I did not feel the strain. I hope in about ten days or fortnight I would be fit enough to return to Delhi. I need hardly say how happy I shall be to be back amongst you all.

I read about the formation of another party under the leadership of Prof. K. T. Shah.¹ You will recall that I was opposed to his selection for membership of the Constituent Assembly. I am sending herewith a copy of his letter to Soumeyendranath Tagore which was intercepted by the Calcutta CID. This shows what a poisonous snake we have been nursing practically in our own bosom. He has virtually become a co-conspirator, not merely with our opponents but with that section of the opponents which will not stop at even disrupting India.

I am sure you have been devoting your time to the consideration of the general economic problem.

Menon has already sent you a report prepared by a committee of secretaries which contains an analysis of the present economic situation together with some suggestions to deal with the problem. I feel that their analysis is an outstanding piece of work and is generally correct. There may be a difference of opinion on minor points, but, on the whole, I think they have established a case for effective and prompt measures to deal with the present emergency. Those measures must be drastic and almost ruthless, if they have to succeed. At the same time, they must be intensely practical. In no other field is the need for a practical appreciation of the problems and evolution of practical remedies more important than in economics. It is the science of every day life and, therefore, our idealism has to be tempered by practical considerations.

As far as I can see, the problem is really threefold. It is one of increasing production, of lowering the cost of production and of increasing the standard of living. The other problems are merely subsidiary or incidental to these three. You will also have noticed from the report of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' conference that, in order to fulfil our commitments, we shall have drastically to cut down our imports and increase our exports,

¹ Leading economist of Bombay; member of Zakir Hussain Committee to prepare school syllabus on Wardha scheme lines; became Congress member of Constituent Assembly, 1946

particularly the dollar earning ones, to increase the supply of all kinds of goods and services to the dollar area by increasing production, and reducing costs in prices, and promote conditions designed to facilitate investment by the dollar countries. The methods suggested are (i) to counteract inflation; (ii) to reduce internal consumption and limit investments to levels more realistically corresponding to resources currently available; and (iii) to encourage efficiency in production.

I have my own ideas on how this huge but unavoidable task must be tackled. I should not, however, like to bother you with any details just now. I would rather request you to turn it over in your mind and to go over the entire field with the assistance of Matthai and other colleagues and officers who might be concerned with the subjects which would have to be covered in the whole economic programme. We must have a clear and definite idea of the economic malaise and the remedies required effectively to deal with it and once this clear idea is formed we must go ahead at full steam until we have succeeded not only in checking further deterioration but also in bringing about an equilibrium. I personally feel that we must do all this before you leave for the UK and even before you leave we should start remedial measures which, according to our judgment, would bring about an improvement in the present economic conditions. I should like to suggest in particular your discussing these problems with Matthai, Rama Rau, C. D. Deshmukh and some of the officers who have given so much thought to this problem.

I have gone through the correspondence which has passed between Trivedi and Sachar in regard to Sachdev. I have also seen the correspondence between Sachar and yourself. All this has distressed me beyond words. I cannot imagine how Sachar can have the guts to resist even a modest proposal emanating from you. You can now imagine what must be the position of his colleagues whom he must be treating with even greater disrespect and lack of courtesy. In fact, the correspondence makes us doubt even his trustworthiness. For a man in the position of a Premier of a province, that is an unpardonable fault. I understand from Iengar that you have now given up the idea of going to East Punjab, but that is merely a protest. It is not remedial.

You also wrote to me some time ago regarding Narmada Prasad Singh. I have now had a look into the charges which have been made against him. They are very serious charges, some of which at least are something more than mere suspicion. I

have had a talk with Shrinath Mehta who is Chief Minister, Vindhya Pradesh. I am satisfied that, so far as he is concerned, he is trying his best to ensure that the investigation is above board or taint of malice or vindictiveness; but I am surprised that Rafi should be making so many attempts to interfere with the course of the enquiry. I know that he approached Ravishankar Shukla on this matter. It seems he approached Rajen Babu, insinuating that it was one of his letters to the States Ministry regarding a purse that was presented to him which had started the whole trouble. Such a conduct is surprising from one who seems to believe that he is the only head of a crusade against bribery, corruption and nepotism.

I am glad to know that the draft article relating to compensation for acquisition of property has had so much unanimity behind it. I hope Pantji will agree, though, I am afraid, the draft formula does not meet the difficulties which have influenced Pantji in taking his stand on this clause.

I also feel that we should settle before you leave the outstanding questions relating to the Sikhs viz., the language and the services question. It is no use delaying matters because I do not think we can afford to release Tara Singh before all these questions are out of the way. Once they are settled and the Sikh position in regard to these matters is stabilised, we can afford to take some risk; otherwise, I am afraid it would be too great a risk. The case with Golwalkar is different. He has come round to our view in several particulars and there are certain limitations which he has now accepted for himself and within which he and the Sangh will have to work, but for Tara Singh there are no limitations. Once he is out of jail, he will be a thorn in the side not only of Government but of the Sikh leaders themselves. You know the ideas which Master Tara Singh is even now harbouring. I have seen his letter to Col. Raghbir Singh in which he has given expression to his ideas without reserve. It is quite clear that he passionately clings to his faith in a war with Pakistan, in the return of Sikhs to West Punjab by force, in East Punjab being virtually a Sikh State, in Punjabi being the only language for East Punjab, in the invincibility and integrity of the Panth and other similar ideas. Short of Tara Singh himself recanting, the only way we can deal with the silly notions of his is to present him with an accomplished fact.

I am afraid this letter has become too long and I have raised so many problems for your consideration. But my mind is

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considerably agitated over these and you are the only one with whom I can share the working of my mind in such a comprehensive and unrestrained manner. I hope I have not taxed your leisure too much.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
31 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I thank you for your two letters of 28 August.

I agree with you about recruitment to the public services. About the other long letter, I shall not write now. I hope to have a talk with Matthai and others before I come to Bombay to see you and then we shall discuss these matters.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

287

Ajmeri Gate
New Delhi
26 August 1949

Revered Sardar Sahib,

In forwarding you a copy of the resolution unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, I beg to lay the following facts before you.

It is the candid opinion of almost every Congressman of Delhi that the policy of progressive prohibition decided by the Congress and followed by many provincial Governments is not being faithfully applied in Delhi, which is the seat of the Central Government. Besides, not only Congressmen but even the public are greatly dissatisfied over the arbitrary decisions which had been taken by the local administration in granting licences

to two New Delhi restaurants situated in the densest part of the area and giving permission to opening two liquor shops, one in the Subzimandi mill area and the other at Bela Road near the temple in spite of the express wishes of the people of their respective localities through their chosen representatives. There was a time when decisions of advisory committees and of local bodies such as New Delhi and Delhi municipalities were conveniently brushed aside and nobody minded it. But at this stage such a practice is bound to react vehemently on our minds and the present case furnishes a glaring example of this.

Since public resentment on the above issue has now boiled down to such a limit that some district Congress committees in Delhi have actually decided to launch satyagraha over this issue and have sought our permission, this question was discussed in an [emergency] meeting of the Executive Committee of the DPCC, which unanimously passed this resolution.

Looking to the seriousness of the situation, I shall like your goodself to closely study this matter and advise the DPCC accordingly. For details of the cases above referred, I shall greatly wish to personally see you and explain them to you at your convenience.

Please treat this urgent and let me hear soon.

Yours sincerely,
Radha Raman¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Malabar Hill
Bombay

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE DELHI PRADESH CONGRESS COMMITTEE ON PROHIBITION

The Executive Committee of the DPCC has given its full consideration to the manner in which the policy of prohibition is being worked in Delhi by the local administration. The committee heard its president on the exchange of views he recently had with the Chief Commissioner on the subject, when some glaring instances of the violation of the accepted policy of prohibition were brought to his notice. The committee feels constrained to say that although prohibition, being one of the main planks in the constructive programme of the Congress, is a vital part of the policy of national

¹A prominent Congress leader of Delhi; Chief Executive Councillor of Delhi Metropolitan Council since 1972

presides. That Ministry is a Congress Ministry. How can there be, therefore, direct action on the part of a Provincial Congress Committee against its own Ministry? The proposition is so obvious that I should have thought it would not need any suggestion from me or anybody else. All this talk of satyagraha or direct action against your own Government is just a symptom of general indiscipline that prevails and should it be pursued seriously will have to be regarded as such.

However, the resolution requires you to seek for the guidance of the Congress President, and I presume you have done so already.

As regards the merits of the proposal, I am sure the committee realizes, but if it does not it should, that a measure like prohibition cannot be put through in a piecemeal fashion. It can only be implemented in a carefully considered prohibition programme. You know that we have ourselves appealed to the provinces to go slow in their prohibition policy as, in the present financial and economic crisis, we cannot afford to do otherwise. Surely, you cannot expect us to launch a prohibition scheme in Delhi when we ourselves have advised the provinces to go slow. So long as such a scheme is not in force the present excise policy has to be worked in accordance with the prevailing rules, making sure, however, that the number of licences, etc., is in no way increased.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Radha Raman
President
Delhi Provincial Congress Committee
Delhi

New Delhi
13 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I want to bring to your notice an urgent matter which is agitating the minds of the members of the minority communities. Besides the members of my community, representatives of other minorities have also approached me and I would request you to give your earnest consideration to this matter.

The original draft of Article 296 was as follows:

"The claims of all minority communities shall be taken into consideration etc. etc....."

In the present draft amendment the words "minority communities" have been substituted by "the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Caste Tribes and other Backward Classes."

This would mean that Muslims, Indian Christians, Parsis and Sikhs shall have no protection in this respect. They feel perturbed over this change as they consider it a variation of an agreement. As you know, the minorities gave up reservation in the legislatures voluntarily; in doing so there was no question of making any change in the other safeguards as in Articles 296 and 299. The revised draft is against the decisions of the Advisory Committee for Minorities and without the consent of minorities' representatives. It is a departure from the very wholesome practice whereby all decisions concerning minorities are taken by the Advisory Committee.

I may say that though the original provision does not entitle the member of a minority community to claim a job it entitles him to some consideration as such if he is otherwise fit. The provision does not go against the fundamentals laid down in the Constitution. But it gave the minorities considerable satisfaction that their claims would be considered. The new draft amendment takes away this satisfaction. It has caused considerable anxiety in the mind of the members of the minorities.

I would request you to see that the text of the original Article is not altered at this stage.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

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Bombay
16 September 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 September 1949 regarding draft Article 296.

I am quite clear in my mind that we should make no departure from the position that we have taken up, viz. that any

constitutional provisions relating to representation in services should be confined to members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even these should not [be] of any rigid character but should be more in the nature of a general directive. This is what the present draft Article seeks to carry out.

As regards the actual representation, methods of selection etc., it has been the position of the Sikhs, as far as I know, that they would settle this issue on a provincial basis and that they would not press for any constitutional safeguards. This was the attitude which has been taken up by the representatives of Sikhs, both in East Punjab and during the deliberations of the Minorities Advisory Committee. I think this is a wise line of policy and one which I feel should be adhered to. Any reopening of these matters will merely spoil the case for adjustments on a provincial level.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

[See Appendix III.]

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Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

[See Appendix III.]

run into the basic salary. But this category, I should say, can stand it.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

MR. GADGIL'S NOTE ON SALARY CUT

The object of a salary cut is not merely to have a psychological appeal in these critical times. In my own view the financial aspect is equally important. I am, therefore, proposing the following scheme which is based on the principle of fair equality of sacrifice and giving an opportunity to every one of the Central Government employees to contribute his little bit to the solution of the present economic problem. To confine the cut merely to the upper ranges of salary is to deprive the people in the lower ranges of any chance to show their patriotism in a practical and reasonable manner. To believe that none would like to make a contribution and least of all those who receive less is to misjudge the people and to misjudge the situation in my humble opinion.

For persons drawing Rs. 3,000 and above	..	A cut of 10% after deduction of income-tax.
For persons drawing between Rs. 1,500 and 3,000	..	A cut of 7½% after deduction of income-tax.
For persons drawing between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,500	..	A cut of 5% after deduction of income-tax.
For persons drawing between Rs. 250 and Rs. 500	..	A cut of 3% after deduction of income-tax where it is levied.
For persons drawing between Rs. 100 and Rs. 250	..	A cut of 2%.
and for everybody below Rs. 100	..	Re. 1 per head per month.

The minimum which is drawn by a Central Govt. employee including the dearness allowance and the recent addition to the same is Rs. 79. A cut of Re. 1 p.m. is certainly not such as would be felt by him. At the same time it would be such as would create a pride in him to the effect that he is also contributing his little bit to the solution of the problem. The number of Central Government employees who are drawing less than Rs. 250 p.m. by way of salary is 14 lakhs. In fact this is the category from which a substantial amount can be had. The proposal to deduct the

percentage cut before the deduction of income-tax is not altogether bad, but if accepted, it will mean less to Government. My own feeling is that if the cut operates after the income-tax amount is deducted it will give better results from the financial point of view from those who can afford. The idea that this cut is being resorted to when prices have risen or rising is no doubt true, but this is a calamity and a national calamity, and therefore it should be fair that everybody should meet it in his own humble way and the incidence should not be unduly harsh on one and extremely pleasant on the other. I have already asked Mr. Rangachari, Joint Secretary, Finance Ministry, to work out financially what would be the amount thus available for the treasury if the scheme mentioned above is accepted.

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New Delhi
5 October 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of 3 October 1949.

We shall consider the scheme which you have put forward regarding the salary cut, but I think the assumption that persons drawing salaries between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 can stand the cut is not quite correct. During this period of high prices, which has reduced the value of the rupee drastically, they have had no relief from Government. A sum of Rs. 3,000 today is equal to Rs. 750 to Rs. 900 of 1929. On top of it, they have to pay very high rates of income-tax, at least for the last two years. I know that a large number of these Government servants have had to draw upon their savings; some of them have been living on overdrafts from banks. Very few, if any, have any savings left, except their Provident Fund accounts which can be drawn upon only in certain specific contingencies.

We have also to remember that this class of Government servants have to pay higher salaries to their servants and also higher charges for the education of their children. The question is, therefore, not quite so easy.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil
Minister for Works, Mines & Power
New Delhi

New Delhi
13 October 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from V. P. Menon, together with that of its enclosure.

I think we should consider this matter at a very early date. The Press has already started rumours about salary cuts etc. and the sooner this question is settled, the better; otherwise, public opinion will be worked up and whatever we do would not go down very well. It might disappoint them and then there may be some bitterness or unfair criticism.

The best course would be for us to have a discussion and then, at a meeting of the Cabinet, either on Saturday or Monday, we may settle this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
12 October 1949

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

I submit for your kind consideration a memorandum which has been prepared as a result of discussion with Secretaries and other senior officers in regard to the proposed cut in salaries. It contains certain salient facts which, we venture to think, are relevant to the consideration of this question.

In drawing up this memorandum we have not been able to consult any representative of the Defence Services. We assume, however, that any scheme of cut in emoluments will embrace the Defence Services just as much as it would the Civil Services. If so, it need hardly be pointed out that the repercussions on the morale of the Defence Services would merit the most serious consideration. You are personally aware of the situation that arose when the revised Pay Code was applied to the Army.

The best and, indeed, the only real guarantee for the Services is the continued presence of persons like you at the helm of affairs and not anything that the Constituent Assembly might or might not agree to incorporate in the Constitution. Your speech in the Constituent Assembly has heartened the Services and had a tonic effect on their morale. We are most deeply indebted to you for the generous manner in which you have referred to us. We shall strive our utmost to justify the confidence reposed in us. The members of the Services have always regarded you as the guardian of their legitimate interests, and I wish to take this opportunity of assuring you on their behalf that whatever decision you may be pleased to take, it will be cheerfully accepted and loyally carried out by everyone of us.

With renewed assurances of our loyalty,

I remain,
Yours ever sincerely,
V. P. Menon

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister

EXTRACT FROM A MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED 'CUT IN SALARIES'

It is understood that the Cabinet is contemplating a graded cut in the emoluments of all Government servants drawing salaries of Rs. 1,000 or more per mensem.

* * *

The Services as a whole are convinced that in the present circumstances the most appropriate measure would be a comprehensive scheme of compulsory savings on the lines suggested by the Secretaries' Committee, and not a cut in the emoluments of Govt servants alone. But should it be essential, in the best national interests, to have immediate recourse to the drastic step of imposing a cut in salaries, the Services desire to assure the Govt. that they would unhesitatingly accept such a decision; for, in those circumstances, the sacrifice involved would be a necessary contribution towards the national welfare which the Services would willingly make. Furthermore, the Services as a whole would be content to leave it to the best judgment of the Hon'ble the Deputy P.M. and the Hon'ble the Finance Minister to decide whether, at the present moment, it would be demonstrably in the best interests of the country that they should be called upon to make this sacrifice immediately. This memorandum has accordingly been drawn up merely with a view to assisting the Hon'ble Deputy P.M. and the Hon'ble Finance Minister in reaching a decision on the matter.

A cut in salaries cannot be imposed on the lower income-groups having regard to the present level of prices. Equally, it would be inconsistent to

leave it to the best judgment of the Hon'ble Deputy P. M. and the Hon'ble Finance Minister to decide the issue. Whatever their decision, it will be accepted by the Services loyally and cheerfully.

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New Delhi
13 October 1949

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

In his letter dated 12 October 1949 forwarding a certain memorandum prepared as a result of discussions with Secretaries and other senior officers, V.P. has already given an expression to the feelings uppermost in the minds of all of us after reading your speech in the Constituent Assembly in supporting the proposal to give constitutional guarantees to the Services. As chairman of the ICS (Central) Association, I am taking the liberty of writing to you and *expressing our most grateful thanks for all that you have done in the past and are doing for the Services.* We have obtained copies of the full text of your speech and are sending them to all the ICS Associations in the provinces with instructions that they should send a copy to every member of the Indian Civil Service. Your speech will not only be a source of great encouragement to the members of the ICS but also act as a constant reminder to them of the need for maintaining the highest possible standard in their work and personal conduct to be fully worthy of the trust which you have placed in them.

Yours sincerely,
Y. N. Sukthankar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

MR. V. SHANKAR'S NOTE

I have gone through the report. My own feeling is that in view of the present hostility against the Services in the rank and file of the Congress Party and the terrible burden we have been imposing on H.M. in regard to the defence of the Services, it would be a good gesture if we left the matter entirely in the hands of H.M. without giving expression either to our own preferences or to the dangers of creating a sense of insecurity among the Services or to the desirability of exploring all other avenues before resorting to

New Delhi
5 November 1949

My dear Menon,

Thank you for your letter of 4 November 1949 in which you have conveyed to me an offer of a voluntary cut in their salaries by Secretaries, Additional Secretaries and Joint Secretaries of the Government of India. I need hardly say how much I personally appreciate this offer and how I regard it as a generous and patriotic gesture to Government at a time of grave national emergency. I placed this matter before the Cabinet yesterday and, while accepting this offer, the Cabinet has placed on record its deep appreciation of this gesture. Please convey to the officers concerned the reaction of the Cabinet as well as myself to their offer.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

V. P. Menon, Esq.
Adviser, States Ministry
New Delhi

Simla
13 November 1949

Dear Shri Rajagopalachari,

Will Your Excellency kindly refer to the correspondence ending with your letter of 16 October 1949 regarding cuts in salaries? The decisions of the Government of India have now been announced, and the Services drawing Rs. 3,000 and above have accepted a voluntary cut in pay from 1 November 1949, until February 29, 1952, the scale of cut being Rs. 250 for a pay of Rs. 3,000 and 25 % of the excess of pay over Rs. 3,000. Governors should, I suggest, now follow suit.

2. I have just received a letter from Dr. Katju in which he suggests that all Governors should announce a voluntary cut of 15% of their pay for a short period, say, twelve months. I have replied to him saying that his proposal for a 15% voluntary cut is

acceptable to me subject to two qualifications, viz., (1) Governors should follow the scale of cut as voluntarily agreed to by the Services, in which case the cut would be Rs. 50 more than under Dr. Katju's proposal, and (2) the period should be from 1 November 1949 to 31 March 1951. I have suggested this period because, according to present anticipations, elections will be held in the cold weather of 1950-51, and new Governors would presumably be appointed, in which case it would not be right for present Governors to commit their successors.

3. I should add that Dr. Katju has sounded Asaf Ali, Aney, Pakvasa and Sri Prakasa, who agree with him, and that he is also writing to Maharaj Singh and Homi Mody. It is for Your Excellency to advise us all what exactly we should do, and I am sure all of us will accept Your Excellency's advice. Very early action is indicated. I have suggested to Dr. Katju that action by all Governors should be uniform and should be announced simultaneously.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Trivedi

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General, India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 October 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

I am sending herewith a letter which I have received from Mohanlal Saksena. You might consider it when we take up the larger question of how to attract investments even while the Income-tax Investigation Commission is in being. I am sending herewith a copy of the reply which I am sending to Mohanlal Saksena. It is of course out of the question to confine our proposals to the financing of the rehabilitation programme.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister of Finance
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

New Delhi
12 October 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have been wanting to talk to you about an important matter but I was unable to do so for want of time. As I am going out on tour tomorrow morning for about a week, I am writing to you.

I do not know what you think will be the response to the appeal made by the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to business men to disgorge their war profits, but [to] tell you frankly I feel very sceptic about its success for obvious reasons. However, another idea has occurred to me which while providing a way out to the war profiteers would also enable them to associate themselves with a good cause, the idea being that Rehabilitation Bearer Bonds may be issued at a premium of 35 per cent. The money raised from this source will be mostly utilised for meeting the expenditure on rehabilitation which is inevitable and is bound to be considerable. Since the bonds will be bearer bonds it would not be necessary for the parties to disclose their names which they would not like to do for fear of injuring their reputation and becoming a suspect in the eyes of the tax department for future. Not only that, some of them may even decide to subscribe openly as it will be considered contributing for a good cause even as they subscribed to the Prime Minister's and your relief funds. It will be a uniform rate of taxation i.e., about 35% and would not be left to the income tax authorities to assess individually as under the proposed scheme.

I have had talks with business men both here and in Bombay and persons like C. H. Bhabha are of the view that this would be a better way of disgorging the black money and their calculations were that the Government may be able to raise anything from Rs. 50 crores to a hundred crores in this way. Even if we get a smaller sum it will not affect the credit of Government over which the Finance Ministry naturally feels so much concerned.

I was not able to discuss this proposal with Dr. Matthai but I could only casually mention to him and he has promised to discuss it after his return from Bombay.

I am writing to you in the hope that you will be able to give consideration to this proposal for what it is worth.

Yours sincerely,
Mohanlal Saksena

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE II

New Delhi
14 October 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 12 October 1949.

The proposal made by you viz., of Bearer Bonds has already been under our consideration, but I doubt whether it is feasible to restrict these Bearer Bonds, even if we decide that they should be issued, to the rehabilitation programme of Government.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Saksena
Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
24 May 1949

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

There has been some correspondence between Sukhtankar and Menon regarding the replacement of Chablani, who is at present Resident Engineer, Kandla Port. As far as I know, the progress in the work has been disappointing. Our own officers, i.e. both Menon and Dandekar, who visited Kandla some time ago, reported adversely on him. I feel certain that if we have to expedite the work at the Kandla port, Chablani is not the man for it. The congestion in the Bombay port necessitates quick development of Kandla and I would request you to devote personal attention to this matter and to see that a suitable Resident Engineer is in position in Kandla. Both in the beginning and subsequently I had suggested Mitter. He may be a traffic man and

may have no engineering qualifications, but he has the necessary drive and capacity for supervision. If you can put him there and place a suitable engineer under him, I think the work may be pushed through expeditiously. As I have often told you, something must be done in this matter immediately. We can even get an expert from outside.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar
Minister for Transport
New Delhi

301

New Delhi
1 July 1949

My dear Sardarji,

As you know, I visited Kandla some days ago and studied the situation there. I was by no means satisfied with the work that had been accomplished in connection with the creation of a major port at Kandla. As a result, I came to certain conclusions which Sukhtankar, who is bringing this letter, will explain to you in detail. I trust they will meet with your approval, and I shall be grateful for any suggestions that you could make.

I am sorry that, owing to a number of reasons, I am unable to come over there and have a talk with you about this and other matters. I hope that by your stay in Dehra Dun your health has greatly improved and I am looking forward to your return. But in the interests of your health I should not like you to curtail your stay in Dehra Dun or to come over here sooner than may be absolutely necessary.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopaldaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

You will remember that I mentioned to you my idea of constituting a committee at Kandla to help the Development Commission in his work. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai will, of course, be a member of this committee and I should like to have two

My dear Sardarji,

15 September 1949

New Delhi

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New Delhi

The Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar

Vallabhbhai Patel

Yours sincerely,

With kindest regards,

it has had some rains. would be worse and I am, therefore, disinclined to return until seems unusual, is another contributory factor. I realize Delhi testinal trouble that has affected my health. The heat here, which in Dehra Dun, but in the last fortnight I have been having improved sufficiently during the first half period of my stay on 15 July. We can meet in Delhi thereafter.

I should have welcomed your visit to Dehra Dun. There were so many matters on which we could have exchanged information as well as views. I am thinking of returning to Delhi Minister, there is sufficient talent available.

I have had a discussion with Sukhtankar and generally agreed with the proposals which he brought with him. I have only suggested that, since we cannot get British engineers, we might try to tap the German market where, according to the Prime

Kandla port.

Thank you for your letter dated 1 July 1949 regarding the

My dear Gopalaswami,

2 July 1949

Dehra Dun

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other non-officials on this committee. When I spoke to you you said that you would think over the matter and let me have the names. It must have gone out of your mind. I am anxious that this committee should be constituted at once and shall be grateful if you can suggest names of two non-officials who, you think, could suitably be appointed to a committee of this kind. They must be fairly responsible persons, as responsible as Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, and my idea is to use this committee for the purpose of consultation and advice in regard to all important problems of administration connected with the construction and development of the port.

2. I am sorry to worry you. It is very gratifying to see reports of the great improvement that your Bombay stay has done you and we are looking forward to your return to Delhi as soon as you are able to do so.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp Bombay

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New Delhi
2 October 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

With reference to the discussion we had yesterday, I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Kasturbhai Lalbhai. I hope you will be able to accommodate him. His membership of the committee would be an asset and I am sure we shall be amply rewarded. Please let me have a copy of your reply to him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Churchgate House
Churchgate Street
Bombay
29 September 1949

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

You were kind enough to mention to me at Ahmedabad that the Government of India is thinking of appointing a committee for the prosecution of Kandla Port project and you would like me to be the chairman of that committee. As you know, I readily assented because if I could be of service to our Government, I am ever ready. I, however, will not like to associate myself with the committee because it will take much too long to get the decision of the Advisory Committee implemented and the question of my reputation will be at stake. If such a committee is to be formed, in my humble view it should be a statutory committee with full powers to see the project executed in the shortest possible time and in the most economic manner.

I also feel that if Kandla is to mature into a major port she cannot do without both broad gauge and meter gauge railway connections. It may be that the Government of India's financial position is such that it may not be possible to carry out both the projects at the same time. It does not matter as long as one project is launched immediately and the other follows a year later.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Kasturbhai Lalbhai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
15 October 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Kindly refer to your letter of 2 October 1949 regarding the advisory committee for Kandla. I am enclosing for your information a copy of my letter to Kasturbhai Lalbhai.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
15 October 1949

My dear Shri Kasturbhai,

I am very grateful to you for your letter of 29 September last to Sardarji assenting to your being appointed member and chairman of the Kandla Development Committee. It is very good of you to undertake this task as I know you are otherwise a very busy person.

It is now proposed to have two other non-officials as members of this committee, and you will be interested to hear that Mr. C. H. Bhabha has been good enough to agree to serve on it. Mr. Bhawanji Khimji is also being requested to serve on the committee.

I have given very careful consideration to your suggestion that the committee should be a statutory body with full powers of its own to implement the execution of the project in the shortest possible time. I quite appreciate the reasons which have induced you to make this suggestion. There is, however, no provision under which a statutory committee of this kind could be appointed unless some legislation is undertaken. There is no need, however, for you to entertain any fears that any recommendations which you and your committee may make will be delayed in implementation. I am here to give you the assurance that all your recommendations will receive most expeditious consideration and that every effort will be made to implement them without delay. We have, as you know, now appointed a high-powered officer

at Kandla, designated Development Commissioner, who is in overall charge of all problems arising out of the construction and development of Kandla as a major port including those relating to the set-up of the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation. This officer, in addition to being a member of the committee, will work in the closest liaison with the committee and will be charged particularly with the task of seeing that the committee's work produces quick results.

In the circumstances, short of being designated a statutory committee, the Advisory Committee of which you will be chairman will be given every assistance to produce the maximum results in the minimum possible time.

In the circumstances, I shall be grateful if you will be good enough to function as member and chairman of the committee, though, for the time being, it has to be designated an advisory committee.

On hearing from you, the formal orders constituting the committee will issue.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai
Ahmedabad

Copy to The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
15 October 1949

My dear Maulana Sahib,

The other day I had a talk with you about the publication Talim-ul-Islam among the compilers of which I regret to find Maulvi Mufti Mohammad Kifait Ullah. I have now looked into the publication and find that the latest copy was published in June 1949 and bears a preface by Mufti Kifait Ullah. It is the sixteenth edition of that book, which would indicate its popularity. It also appears that the idea is to inculcate what is contained in the publication in simple language among children and the book seems to have been accepted for the curriculum of Islami and Qaumi schools.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Maulana Hifzur Rehman
Jamiat Ulema Hind
Gali Qasimjan
Delhi

New Delhi
30 November 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Some time ago a publication called Talim-ul-Islam was brought to my notice in which Hindus were referred to as Kafirs and it was mentioned that as such they would get permanent damnation and would go to hell. The publication was compiled by Mufti Kifait Ullah and was freely circulated among and read by boys in Muslim schools. When my attention was drawn to the offending passages I spoke to Maulana Hifzur Rehman and told him that in particular I was sorry that Mufti Sahi should have been associated with such a publication and that it should be in use even after independence. I also pointed out that such indoctrination was bound to result in innocent children acquiring a different outlook right from the beginning and that it was particularly unfortunate that at such an impressionable age they should get the wrong type of religious education. Maulana Hifzur Rehman at last wrote to me that he had had a talk with Mufti Sahib and that the offending passages would be corrected in subsequent publications. In the meantime, I had asked Shankar Prasada to take up the matter. He had a discussion with Maulana Ahmad Saeed who was good enough to admit the force of the arguments especially as he knew that even in Moghul times Hindus were not referred to as Kafirs but only as Munkirs. Maulana Ahmad Saeed contacted Mufti Sahib who pleaded that the thing had not been objected to for the last 30 years and had been in use since then. For reasons of prestige he found it difficult to climb down, but the Maulana has been successful in persuading his son and publishers to delete the offending passages. Shankar Prasada tells me that there are certain other Muslim publications such as the Maulvi, the official organ of the Jamiat, which occasionally puts out the same kind of stuff. The editor of this paper has been warned and has promised to be careful.

2. I am glad that the matter has been so amicably settled. I thought I would let you know. It is rather unfortunate that

some of our nationalist friends should get mixed up like this in religious fanaticism.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
25 October 1949

My dear Gadgil,

As a result of the integration of smaller States, a substantial amount of accommodation should be available in various centres within a reasonable distance of Delhi, and I have been thinking whether it would not be better for us to utilize this accommodation in order to shift our offices from Delhi and relieve congestion here both in office and in residential accommodation. Actually, those who would be going out of Delhi would probably get better accommodation both for office and for their houses, because mostly the office and residential accommodation in the States was built on a more liberal scale than here. We have received, for instance, a representation from Kapurthala saying that quite a lot of office and residential accommodation is available and that East Punjab should have its capital there. I am sure a substantial accommodation must be available in Alwar, Bharatpur and in the Rajputana States from where the capital and all the paraphernalia of headquarters have been shifted.

I realize that there would be difficulty in persuading Ministries to send their subordinate or attached offices outside Delhi, but since telephonic communications are now more numerous and the places will be within about a day's travel from Delhi, it should not be inconvenient to transfer these offices. If necessary, we can consider the matter in the Cabinet and appoint a committee to go into this question of shifting these offices outside Delhi, so that final decisions could be taken quickly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil
Minister for Works, Mines & Power
Government of India
New Delhi

New Delhi
25 October 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Kindly refer to your d.o. dated 25 October 1949. As a matter of fact, two months ago [to examine] this question of finding out how much accommodation was available at various places in the areas of merged States, a high officer of this Ministry was despatched. He has now collected complete data of accommodation available. My Ministry has also circulated a note to various Ministries with a view to ascertaining their views about shifting at least attached offices immediately to convenient places where accommodation would be available. If you will remember, last year the Cabinet appointed a sub-committee consisting of Gopalaswami and myself to go into this question of shifting offices to suitable places. As soon as some concrete proposals are worked up by my Ministry, I shall place them before the Cabinet. I am glad to note that you are thinking exactly on the lines on which the WM & P Ministry has been thinking—in fact I am greatly encouraged by your letter and would do my best to expedite the working out of the whole thing.

As regards Kapurthala, if you so desire, I would informally sound the Punjab Ministry and try to understand their reactions, but if you think, as I think, that this would be more tactfully done by you, I would request you do it.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 October 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of 25 October 1949.

I am glad to know that you have taken up the question of transfer of offices from Delhi to other suitable areas in right earnest. I would certainly give you whatever help I can.

As regards Kapurthala, I do not think it is any use taking up the matter with the East Punjab Ministry. Kapurthala is in the PEPS Union, and I see no prospect of its being dislinked. The matter, therefore, ends there. At the same time, we can easily utilize whatever accommodation might be available in order to shift some of our own offices, even from Simla to Kapurthala.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil
New Delhi

Villa Guardamangia
Pieta, Malta
15 August 1949

My dear Sardarji,

We have been very sad to hear from Amrit¹ that you have not been too well of late, and only hope that you will take some real care of yourself. You have such a heavy burden and vast problems and responsibilities; but your most vital one now is to rest yourself and relax somewhat. So please be sensible and good! and do exactly what the doctors and particularly Maniben tell you to.

It was a great joy to have Amrit with us and staying in the house and now we want you both to come next year as you said you would once try to.

¹ Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

Our thoughts are so very especially with you all and India on the second anniversary of Independence and our affectionate good wishes go out to each one of you.

With my love to you and Maniben, and do send us your news and particularly about your health.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Bombay
25 August 1949

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 15 August 1949.

I am most grateful to you for your kind enquiries. I am now much better. The change and treatment in Bombay have done me a lot of good.

Thank you for all the nice things you say about ourselves and Amrit. You have always been so kind to us that I only hope that your kindness does not betray us.

With love and best wishes to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Countess Mountbatten of Burma
Villa Guardamangia
Pieta, Malta

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Flag Officer Commanding
First Cruiser Squadron
C/o G.P.O., London
30 August 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Edwina and Pammy and I have been so distressed to hear that you have not been well during the hot weather, and very worried to hear that nothing will really induce you to stop work! I do hope, however, that you really will rest and do what the

foremost of our considerations in this time visiting Delhi. I extract the paragraph in Sutherland's¹ letter of 31 October to [A.K.] Roy which touches on this and send it to you for your perusal in order to put you in the picture as it were.

Now that Government and the jute mill industry have joined hands and got together in a far better way than ever before in order jointly to face and to overcome the crisis forced upon the country and the industry by Pakistan's decision, it would look strange if publicly we started to fight in the High Court. The issue hinges upon the custom of the trade in the matter of delivery orders issued by the mills; and frankly we have all eminent counsels with us in saying that Government have little, if any, chance of winning the case. Not only is there loss of confidence engendered by Government and ourselves fighting a case against each other in the High Court; but to our mind a waste of money, time and effort which much more profitably could be employed in far better directions. A line of action has been suggested for Government's consideration in the attachment: others might suggest themselves to you. The main thing seems to me to be that we should not relax any effort to arrive at suitable solution and that our recourse to the High Court should be the very minimum necessary to conform to the legal niceties in all of this.

All that is needed to my mind is that some direction or indication should be given by Sardar Patel that attempts to reach an amicable mutually agreed settlement should be attempted; and then we could set the machinery in motion necessary to this end.

I do not like to add to already heavy burdens: we feel, however, that in all the considerations affecting the issue, action on the foregoing lines should be followed; and if in continuation of what already in private discussions has been mentioned to Sardar Patel, you could bring this to notice for suitable instructions, I would be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,
Walker

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to Sardar Patel
New Delhi

EXTRACT FROM MR. SUTHERLAND'S LETTER OF 31 OCTOBER
TO MR. A. K. ROY (FINANCE MINISTER)

What I would like you to examine is the position in the Calcutta High Court case which is pending, in which we are having a legal argument about the status of the Delivery Order. As I said we are very confident of winning the case which arises out of the action taken by the Central Government in 1946 in the freezing and requisitioning of goods for the Argentine. Our

¹ J. J. B. Sutherland: Secretary, Indian Jute Mills Association

claim is that the title in the goods has passed when a Delivery Order is issued so that the goods are not in the ownership of the mills but belong to the holder of that document. Government contest that; hence the High Court case. That very broadly summarises the position.

To our mind it is extremely regrettable that at the present stage of affairs and having regard to all that in mutual co-operation and help has been evidenced between us, there should be any waste of time, effort and money over that point. Our proposal is that Government should admit our contention concerning the status of the Delivery Order and should agree therefore to pay to the holders thereof the market rates ruling at 12 December 1946. The fact that there was a case was news to you; and you promised to have the issues examined so that, if possible, we can discuss further when in Delhi on 1 November or the next day when we meet again.

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New Delhi

10 November 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

I have just seen your Ministry's summary on the subject of machinery to extend facilities for voluntary settlement of taxes by assesses whose cases have not been referred to the Tax Investigation Commission.

2. You know my general view. I said at the Cabinet meeting that I was doubtful if there would be any satisfactory response on the basis of the proposals that were under contemplation because there was hardly any strong inducement to compromise the case. My reading of the proposals of the ordinance now confirms me even more in that view and if the proposals are to go through as they stand, we might as well not have any such scheme at all.

3. It is proposed to exclude from the scope of the ordinance income etc. in respect of which proceedings to assess or re-assess are pending before an Income-Tax Officer or any income etc. which are liable to assessment for any one or more of the assessment years 1945-46 to 1947-48 and in respect of which no assessment proceedings had been initiated if the owner of the income etc. had been assessed for either of the years 1943-44 or 1944-45. You will recall that the other day in the Cabinet you said that some 34,000 notices had been issued under Section 34 of the Indian Income-Tax Act. If, therefore, all these cases are to be

excluded, I doubt if there would be many which could be referred to the Commission for investigation and determination under the provisions of this ordinance. As far as I understood the proposal, the idea was to induce as many of those against whom these notices had been issued to come forward for the composition of their cases. This, in my judgment, was a sensible thing to do because otherwise the usual income-tax machinery would take years to finalise matters and the only result would be to keep the sword of Damocles hanging without Government being any the richer. The main problem at present is, as you are aware, to get the money out when we badly need it. It is no use our getting the money after years when our need might not be so urgent or when financially we may unfortunately have reached the position in which we would not even be able to utilise whatever we might get. When a person is hungry it is no use promising 'a rich fare a year hence'. I, therefore, feel that it would be in the interest of Government itself to see that as many cases as are still pending before the Income-tax authorities and which it is not possible for them to dispose of within a reasonable period of time, might be allowed to be referred to the Commission in case the owner of the income etc. wants it.

4. As regards clause 5(2), as you know, if there is any merit in the proposals now put forward, it can only accrue by the process of a rather summary disposal of these cases. I should like you to consider whether we could not make some provision to ensure that any enquiries which the Commission makes are of a summary nature, so that these cases are disposed of with the greatest possible expedition. I am also not happy about the proviso to this clause. Obviously if the Commission has reasons to believe that the true owner is somebody else it must tax the true owner for this income. If it cannot establish this fact, then it would pay Government to assess the benami owner for whatever it may be worth. The only result of this proviso will, as far as I can see, be that both the true owner and the benami owner will escape assessment altogether. As you know, these cases are very difficult to prove. I would, therefore, suggest the omission of this proviso altogether.

5. As regards clause 5(6), I see no necessity for any specific reference to the fact that all these proceedings etc. are judicial proceedings. It will only scare away people from coming to the Commission if the result of a misstatement or false statement is going to be some months' or years' imprisonment. The less we emphasise this aspect of the case the better. I would personally

leave the matter unspecified. We shall always have the liberty to deal with every case as we think fit. After all, it is sufficient that the applicant will not get any immunity for any undisclosed items and we can always utilise this power ordinarily for punishing those who make false statements. In suitable cases, we could use the implied powers to prosecute that would vest in the Commission.

6. As regards clause 6, I do not see any necessity of the Commission merely determining the amount and the Income-tax officers levying the assessment. I understand that the Commission in respect of referred cases has been following the procedure of determining the present value of the investments made out of sums in respect of which income-tax was evaded and then levying the assessment on such present value. I do not see why the procedure should be different and why the Commission itself should not fix the assessment that has to be levied. My own feeling is that the less we bring in the Income-tax Department into this business the better.

7. Rule 3(2) does not seem to be happily worded. Every stipendary magistrate has got the right to give an oath. There is no question, therefore, of his being included as an authority "who are hereby authorised to administer oaths and affirmation." This is, however, merely a drafting change.

8. I feel that unless the ordinance is changed on the lines that I have suggested, it is really no use our having this ordinance. You can consider over the matter and if necessary either we can discuss it before the Cabinet meeting or we can discuss these points in the Cabinet itself.

9. In deference to your suggestion I have agreed to invite Varadachari to our Cabinet meeting. I do not know, however, how we can regulate the discussions in the Cabinet. Last time you will remember that after we had an informal discussion with the members of the Commission we asked them to go out so that we could discuss the matter amongst ourselves. I personally feel that we should get Varadachari only for the elucidation of any points which require his presence. He could then stay only for the time that such elucidation is required. We could then come to our own decisions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

Government House
New Delhi
7 December 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You must have seen relevant extracts from Trivedi's fortnightly letter to me dated 27 November. I would like particularly to draw your attention to paragraph 3, clause (iv). I entirely agree with him that steps should be taken to impress on the Services the importance to be attached to swift and stern punishment of offenders and those guilty of neglect, and that the "tall poppies" should bear the brunt of the responsibility even though the neglect may be traced to the subordinate officials because otherwise there would be no incentive to alertness on the part of the officers.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
15 December 1949

My dear Sardar,

I have observed from Press reports and certain replies to questions in the Assembly that Ministers have recently made public the revised allotments for 1949-50 and the budget allotments for 1950-51, either for the Ministry as a whole or for individual projects sponsored by the Ministry. This is contrary to the established practice of keeping budget allotments confidential till the Budget is presented to Parliament. We have had for obvious reasons to fix the revised ceiling for the current year and the limits for capital outlay for next year earlier than we have done hitherto. If this information is published now, it will mean disclosing part of the Budget in advance of the presentation of the Budget statement. This is likely to lead to undesirable results

and it was for this reason that I had arranged that the allotments of one Ministry were not *made known to other Ministries*. I would request that these figures are kept confidential till the Budget statement is presented.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Camp Pilani
16 December 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

Thank you for your letter dated 15 December 1949.

I entirely agree that the figures of allotments which we have made should be kept confidential till the Budget statement is presented. Actually, the statements which have been submitted to me have not left my personal secretariat.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
New Delhi

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New Delhi
29 December 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

When I learnt that you were going to Bombay, I thought that you would be back after two or three days. Now I learn that you are not likely to be back for about 10 days or so. I can perhaps just see you on the 7th before my departure for Colombo. In effect we shall hardly meet till I come back from Ceylon. We shall be terribly busy then with other matters.

This is rather unfortunate because vital decisions have to be taken in the near future. This need not necessarily be done before 26 January, but it cannot wait too long afterwards.

I am very much worried about the state of affairs in the country. I am quite sure that if we allow this drift to continue, we shall invite disaster.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Bombay
1 January 1950

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 29 December 1949.

2. I had been thinking of coming to Bombay for some time. There were several urgent matters which needed my attention and I thought that if I did not come now, it would not be possible for me to come for several months and those matters could not wait. However, when I saw the important matters that were pending discussion in the Cabinet, I thought of giving up the idea of coming, but then I found that you yourself would be away from Delhi till the 3rd or 4th; naturally things would have to wait. I, therefore, thought it best to utilise this opportunity of coming to Bombay. I had originally intended to be back in Delhi by the 7th morning and the programme was made accordingly, but in view of your letter I have decided to come on the 6th morning. I shall leave by plane and reach Delhi by about 1 o'clock on the 6th. I hear you are not leaving before the 8th. That will give me some time before you leave for Ceylon.

3. I know how worried you are about many of our problems. I fully share your anxiety and feel that with a determined and decisive attitude and policy we can still save the country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Poona

New Delhi
14 November 1949

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Care Government House
Bombay

BEST WISHES AND BLESSINGS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY AND WARM WELCOME BACK HOME AFTER EVENTFUL AND SUCCESSFUL TOUR. MAY YOU LIVE LONG TO ENJOY UNSTINTED LOYALTY AND DEVOTION OF A GRATEFUL NATION AND GUIDE ITS DESTINY AND ENHANCE ITS PRESTIGE IN YEARS TO COME. LOOKING FORWARD MEETING YOU TOMORROW. AFFECTIONATE REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

Camp Pilani
14 December 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of the correspondence which has passed between me and Diwakar on the question of the language policy of AIR. I feel that we should devote very serious thought to this difficult problem and consider this matter in the Cabinet before the final decision is taken.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

New Delhi
5 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Re: Language Policy of AIR and I. & B. Ministry

Since the decision of the Constituent Assembly on the question of the language of the Indian Union, I have been thinking of reviewing the language policy of this Ministry in the light of that decision. As this question has been one of great controversy and as it concerns all, I would like to let you know what I intend doing in the matter, so that you may be able to give me suggestions, if any.

This Ministry has to use Hindi not only in AIR but also in the Press Information Bureau, the Publications Division and the Films Division. It is obvious that the policy laid down for AIR will be followed by other sections of the Ministry as well.

So far, there have been three styles, so to say, of Hindi used in AIR, Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu, differing mainly according to the word-content, and to a certain extent, according to syntax. By a Press Note dated 27-2-1947, the proportions of words, etc., were laid down. There are three advisory committees, one for each of the three styles. There are also proportions laid down for words of different origins and the timings for each style are also fixed in a certain proportion.

Now what I propose to do is to substitute the article (351) of the Constitution as the main guide for our future policy in this matter. In the result, AIR need have only one Hindi Advisory Committee. Since Urdu has been given the status of a regional language, its use in all AIR stations including Delhi will depend upon its importance and numbers speaking it in that particular province or region served by that station.

Now that Hindi as defined by Article 351 of the Constitution is the language of the Indian Union, it is necessary to popularise it and make efforts to teach it through AIR. It is, therefore, proposed to give 65 lessons in Hindi from the eight AIR stations in non-Hindi areas. Further steps will be taken thereafter. It is also proposed to broadcast from 26-1-1950 at least one news bulletin in Hindi from all the AIR stations in non-Hindi areas.

In order to standardise the vocabulary of technical terms re: Constitution, administration, etc., to be used in AIR and other branches of this Ministry, a small committee has been set up with Shri C. B. Rao, ICS who

is now working in AIR. It is intended gradually to see that all officers and programme assistants and other connected with Hindi programmes pass a *Hindi test*.

In view of the keen and universal interest of people in this matter and also in view of the controversial nature of the subject, I have placed before you my proposals. I shall be glad to know if you have any suggestions to offer in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. Diwakar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE II

Camp Pilani
14 December 1949

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of 5 December 1949 regarding the language policy of All India Radio and the I. & B. Ministry.

I am afraid our approach in regard to AIR has to be somewhat different from our approach to the question of national language. AIR's language policy, while taking note of the official language, must have due regard for the objective. The objective of AIR cannot be confined to the propagation or promotion of the national language. It is much more comprehensive, viz. it has to make itself understood and appreciated by the common man. Any attempt on the part of AIR to mould public opinion, or to promote and improve public tastes, is bound to fail, if it does not express itself in a language which can be understood by the greatest possible number. I realise that the aim of AIR must also be to express itself in a language which is chaste, precise and dignified. All these virtues can, however, be present in simplicity. Although, therefore, there should be a somewhat different bias, having regard to the constitutional provisions regarding national language, the criterion of general intelligibility must remain as the guiding point of AIR language policy.

As regards the nature and extent of the bias, that must obviously be more and more pronounced as Hindi becomes the generally accepted language of the whole of India. The fact that it is not so today is implicit in the recognition of English as the official language for the first fifteen years. You cannot assume, even now, that at the end of the period of fifteen years, Hindi would automatically take the place of English. We have found what difficulties we have to face in getting Hindi recognised and accepted. What

attitude of mind will be displayed at the end of fifteen years is an uncertain factor. Your language policy, therefore, cannot even proceed on the assumption that, fifteen years hence, Hindi would make such rapid strides as to become the generally acceptable language of the people, even though it might be the generally acceptable official national language. The difficulty proceeds as much from the fact that Hindi has to contend with the linguistic pride of the various linguistic areas as from the fact that the protagonists of Hindi itself have to realise that a national language is not formed by fanaticism, nor is it imposed by statute, but grows consciously and sub-consciously by the efflux of time with the inevitability of gradual recognition.

If we, as I think we must, accept the criterion of general intelligibility, then obviously the standard of AIR language has to be different from the literary conceptions of orthodox Hindi. AIR is not, and should never be, a literary club. Once it is constituted into a club of that sort, it would become exclusive and cease to be a national institution. Whoever is at the head of AIR has, therefore, to be guided by a breadth of vision and of outlook which should transcend extremism in language, in literature, in the choice of words and in the selection of forms or idioms of expression. The basic approach must be catholic and the aim should be to select words which combine with simplicity the dignity of language and with intelligibility a high standard of expression and style. If one carefully studies Bapu's speeches, one would realise that this aim is quite capable of realisation without doing violence to the standard of language. For technical expressions, I agree that you will now have to resort more and more to Sanskrit; at the same time, in the interim period, I feel that it will still be necessary for you either to use wider-understood English words or to evolve a style of a narrative which, while giving a technical term, amplify its meaning. I am sure, if the language policy of AIR were conceived and directed in this way, we shall not only be promoting much better the cause of Hindi as a national language but also be serving much better what would obviously be our aim viz. the service of the large body of AIR listeners.

As regards Urdu, I am doubtful of either the propriety or the wisdom of relegating it entirely to the regional domain. In a sense, Urdu, like Hindi, cannot belong to one region. Those who speak and understand this language are not concentrated in one geographical area. To this extent, Urdu differs from other regional languages. Its votaries are spread all over India. There are four crores of Muslims, most of whom speak this language. There are refugees from Punjab, a majority of whom definitely speak and understand this language better than any other Indian language. In the East Punjab, even this year 69% of those who appeared for the Vernacular Final Examination adopted Urdu as their language. In UP, there is a large concentration of those who speak the Urdu language. It is, therefore, quite

clear to me that you cannot confine the Urdu language to any one particular region, though you can say that it is mainly spoken in a large portion of Northern India. If you recognise this fact, as I think you must, I do not think it will be possible for us, at least for the time being, to treat Urdu merely as the language of a particular region and thereby to consider it as the main or the main subsidiary language of any particular AIR station. It is possible to include it as one of the main languages of AIR stations in Punjab and UP, but I feel that, if we have to make AIR effective as an instrument of publicity and promotion of ideals of a secular State and culture amongst a large majority of Muslims and refugees, we must, for the time being, assign a portion of our AIR programme from Delhi to Urdu.

I have expressed my views fully and frankly on this very difficult question. I know that your task is difficult and that you are under pressure from more than one quarter who would like you to adopt an extremist attitude in the matter of language, but I think we have to mellow our idealism, or our predilections, by practical considerations. If we lose sight of the circumstances in which we must work our policy regarding national language, we would not be doing a service but a positive disservice to the very cause which we wish to promote. I would, therefore, ask that we must give this problem a very serious consideration, fully recognising and realising what is at stake. It is in this light that we should formulate the language policy of AIR. I also feel that, *having regard to the importance of this question, you must obtain the approval of the Cabinet to whatever policy you wish to suggest, in the light of the views which you might obtain on this question.*

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri R. R. Diwakar
Minister of State
Information & Broadcasting
New Delhi

CHAPTER X
LETTER TO PREMIERS

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TELEGRAM

San Francisco
California
1 November 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

ALL GOOD WISHES TO YOU ON YOUR BIRTHDAY. MAY YOU BE SPARED
LONG FOR INDIA'S SERVICE.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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New Delhi
3 November 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Many thanks indeed for your telegram of congratulations and good wishes on my birthday. I am deeply touched by the fact that even in the midst of your multifarious engagements in a far off land you could think of this passing event.

I have received your letter dated 24 October 1949. I have sent copies of the letter to Rajaji, Gadgil and Matthai. The reaction here is that the person to whom you have referred is not likely to prove helpful.

However, there had already been some telegraphic correspondence between Pai and Bajpai on this subject and you will know everything when you return to New York.

I have followed the progress of your tour with a great deal of interest. I can well imagine how very strenuous it is and what a call it must be making on you both mentally and physically.

It is on this account mainly that I thought it quite unnecessary to worry you with any detailed review of events here since you left. Nor did I expect you to write to me anything in detail about how things were going along there.

I shall, however, give you in brief the main items of news from this end. The Constituent Assembly finished its deliberations according to schedule and we managed to get through all the controversial business that had been left over. The provisions relating to the Services, to the judiciary and to the States were all gone through without any serious difficulty. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar made a particularly bad speech on the Services. One or two other speakers also made some silly speeches. I had, therefore, to intervene and give an effective reply. The proposal regarding the Services was thereafter accepted unanimously. On the States question, there was hardly any difficulty. The judiciary provisions were also agreed to in accordance with the suggestions which I had made with just one modification. The guarantee in regard to present emoluments was extended to all judges who were appointed before 31 October 1948. That was because we had originally said that those appointed after 1 November would have to accept the new conditions of service or go. However, there is some complication because of the fact that after the Cabinet decision in the middle of December according to which the existing scales of remuneration were to be maintained until Parliament otherwise decided, the instructions of 29 October were cancelled. The Drafting Committee has now come round to the view that the guarantee should extend to all those who may be appointed before 26 January 1950.

There was some difficulty about the provision relating to Kashmir. Sheikh Sahib went back on the agreement which he had reached with you in regard to the provision relating to Kashmir. He insisted on certain changes of a fundamental character which would exclude in their application to Kashmir, the provisions relating to citizenship and fundamental rights and make it necessary in all these matters as well as others not covered by the accession to three subjects to seek the concurrence of the State Government which is sought to define as the Maharaja acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers appointed under the proclamation of 8 March 1948. After a great deal of discussion I could persuade the party to accept all the changes except the last one, which was modified so as to cover not merely the first Ministry so appointed but any subsequent Ministries which may be appointed under that proclamation.

Sheikh Sahib has not reconciled himself to this change, but we could not accommodate him in this matter and the provision was passed through the House as we had modified. After this he wrote a letter to Gopalaswami Ayyangar threatening to resign from the membership of the Constituent Assembly. Gopalaswami has replied asking him to defer his decision until you returned.

We had some difficulty in pushing through the Assembly provisions relating to sales tax and powers of the Central Government to issue directives to provincial Governments in the event of an economic or financial emergency. However, these were eventually passed. Now the Constituent Assembly will be meeting again on 14 November. On the first day or two we push through some consequential amendments, so that from the 16th the Assembly will take up the third reading of the Draft Constitution.

The law and order position has been satisfactorily maintained. As regards the economic problem we have been discussing further measures to implement the programme which Matthai put forward during the devaluation debate. In pursuance of that programme we have reduced the price of foodgrains by 7 to 8 per cent and of cloth by 10 per cent. We are examining how far we could reduce the prices of other commodities. We have also decided to issue bearer bonds with a small rate of interest, but income tax free, in the hope that people with comparatively small incomes, who might have evaded tax payment, might be prepared to invest if their anonymity was safeguarded. We propose to issue an ordinance to authorise the Income-tax Investigation Commission with the help of an additional member to deal with the composition of unREFERRED cases. After considerable discussion it has been decided to have a compulsory savings scheme rather than salary cut for Government servants. The main factor which led us to decide upon this course was the fact that the abnormally high cost of living was hitting hard men with fixed incomes and we hope a salary cut within a limited scale of salaries (say, Rs. 1,000 and above) would have saved for the exchequer only Rs. 30 lakhs: under a compulsory savings scheme the civil departments alone would give us about 5 to 6 crores. Moreover, the salary cuts could not have been made applicable to the Army whereas the compulsory savings scheme could be so applied. A further reason was that a compulsory savings scheme for Government servants could be linked up with a similar scheme in business establishments, institutions, etc. We hope to finalise the scheme tomorrow and to start it with the salaries for the current month.

I wonder if you remember the case of Major-General Lakhendar Singh. I believe the papers were sent to you some time ago when you were here and you are reported to have agreed to give him the option of facing court martial or resignation. When the facts were brought to my notice, I felt that it would be wrong in the case of such a serious crime as misappropriation and forgery to shield the offence and to enter into such a settlement. Rajaji, to whom I mentioned, is in agreement with my views. However, since the Commander-in-Chief had already given him the option, I did not think it necessary to refer the matter again to you. After getting further extension, Lakhendar Singh has now opted in favour of resignation.

I am considerably worried about its repercussions on the discipline in the Army. However, I shall discuss it with you when you return.

Before you left we had taken some decisions on the question of devaluation. As you know it has hit us hard in regard to our jute and cotton problems. We are, however, sticking out in both these matters and already Pakistan seems to be considerably upset over the repercussions of the stoppage of official trade in jute and cotton. The prices of jute and cotton in Pakistan have fallen and the unofficial rate of exchange has varied between Rs. 103 and Rs. 115 Indian rupees for Rs. 100 Pakistan rupees. We feel that if we can hold out sufficiently long, we might be able either to enforce parity or to settle a rate of exchange very near parity. The Pakistan Government is naturally much concerned about the whole position. Recently Liaquat Ali, Ghulam Mohammad and Fazlur Rehman all went to East Pakistan and generally received a mixed reception. They have issued an ordinance fixing the price of jute at Rs. 23 which in terms of the devalued rupee would give us a price between Rs. 43 and Rs. 46. This is entirely uneconomic for us. After a great deal of consideration we came to the conclusion some time ago that the price that we could afford to pay is Rs. 35.

We have followed closely your speeches, Press conferences, etc. As you say your visit has created such a great fund of goodwill and friendship and it now remains for others to exploit it for our advantage. From all accounts it is quite clear that your tour has had a triumphant progress and the reception which you have received has seldom been equalled in American history. You have put across to your American audiences a new outlook which they have now begun to appreciate and I am sure that as

3. In the realm of foreign affairs, the month under review has been significant in regard to developments in China, the situation in Burma, our relations with South Africa, our position vis-à-vis Pakistan, India's election to the Security Council and the question of French possessions in India.

4. In China, the resistance of the Nationalists to the progress of Communist armies has been rapidly collapsing. Both the pace of the advance and the rapidity of this collapse might fill one with surprise, particularly when it is remembered that only a couple of years ago the civil war was confined to a very restricted area in China and was more in the nature of a ding-dong struggle between the two opposing forces; Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang regime seemed to be firmly in the saddle, though discerning visitors could see ominous cracks in the whole fabric. The change in the Chinese scene is full of significance for us. It only means that well-organised and disciplined forces starting from comparatively small beginnings but gaining popular support can gather momentum and strength sufficient to deal with superficially larger forces, weakened by inherent defects of a corrupt authoritarian regime. Democracy, if it is to survive a clash with totalitarian ideology, must display cohesion, discipline, integrity and political honesty; it must also be eternally vigilant in defence of those basic principles of democracy, without which its foundations cannot be well and truly laid. The developments in China, therefore, are a warning and an example from which we all can profit, if we have the will and the desire to learn. There is another development which is of some significance. It is the rapid transfer of loyalty by the large Chinese communities in Burma, Assam and Malaya to the new Communist regime. The Chinese consular and diplomatic staff in other countries is sharply reacting to the change, and almost overnight they are being converted from Kuomintang principles to the Communist ideology. This shows on what shifting sands of conviction the Kuomintang regime was resting itself. The Communist victories in China are creating another problem. That is the question of the recognition of the new regime and of the repercussions on the constitution of the Security Council. On the question of recognition, accomplished facts have a bearing of their own. There seems no reason why the Communist regime in China should be treated any differently from, say, the Soviet regime in Russia. But old prejudices die hard and in the international field there is still some hesitation to accept as inevitable what cannot be prevented. This question of recognition is raising difficulties in another sphere.

The new Government of Bao Dai, which has come into being under French support, is struggling to secure a foothold in the public opinion of Indo-China. We have had more than one approach from this Government for receiving a goodwill mission. We have put off such a request as we do not intend to give recognition to a regime unless we feel sure that it is in fact an independent Government based on general public support. Both in regard to China and Indo-China, it is quite clear that India's attitude will have a far-reaching effect on the attitude of other countries. The British and the Americans have already told us so. There is, however, a vital difference between the two countries. In China, we have a regime which seems to have established itself in the public mind. In Indo-China, there is a puppet regime installed against democratic forces.

5. The situation in Burma continues to be unsatisfactory. There is no sign yet that the civil war is nearing its end or that Government forces are definitely on the top of the insurgents. Nevertheless, the Commonwealth countries have decided to support the present Burmese Government, as no alternative Government capable of restoring law and order is in sight. Talks will shortly open in Rangoon about the grant of financial assistance to the Burmese Government. Our Ambassador will be associated with such talks, but we have already made it clear to the UK Government that our capacity to participate in any loan which may ultimately be decided upon must be strictly limited. There is no evidence yet that the Communist victories in China are influencing the situation in the north of Burma. But such victories will undoubtedly encourage the forces of disorder in neighbouring countries and will encourage subversive elements in fomenting troubles which they can exploit to their political advantage. We have to guard against these forces and have to be more vigilant as the Communist armies in China march down south. Our eyes must, therefore, inevitably rest on our eastern and north-eastern frontiers. We cannot afford to relax in our efforts to seal off those frontiers against suspects and ill-disposed foreigners. Tibet is likely to be another source of anxiety in the coming months. China has never given up its claims of suzerainty over Tibet. Hitherto, however, the preoccupations of the Nationalist forces and the domestic quarrel between the Communists and the Nationalists have prevented any expansion south or westwards into Tibet. With the liquidation of the Nationalists, however, it is more than likely that the Communists will turn their eyes towards Tibet, and try to establish a

regime, either Communistic or in sympathy with Communists. In either event, the situation cannot but be a matter of serious concern to us.

6. We are still in correspondence with the Union of South Africa in regard to holding a round table conference in accordance with the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its last session. The Union Government has suggested a preliminary conference but the conditions which they have sought to impose do not seem to us to augur well for the success of even such a conference. We have kept the United Nations Secretariat informed of recent developments. At the moment we are awaiting a report from our Permanent Representative in the UNO on the informal talks which he was authorised to undertake with the South African representative. We have, in the meantime, sent a protest to the Union Government against several *administrative measures which they are enforcing against the Indian community* and requested them to keep such measures in abeyance at least until the conference has taken place. If no satisfactory response is forthcoming, we may be compelled to move the UNO even during the current session for the inclusion of the treatment of Indians in South Africa as an additional item on the agenda.

7. Our relations with Pakistan have rapidly deteriorated during this month. Following the decision of the Pakistan Government not to devalue their rupee, we have had to take steps to protect our currency and to prevent Pakistan from taking unfair advantage not only of the fortuitous appreciation of their currency but also of the favourable balance of trade between India and Pakistan. The decision to maintain the previous value of the Pakistan rupee, although sought to be justified on economic grounds, appears to have taken more into account the political factors. There seems to be some evidence of Pakistan having taken this *decision*, partly to demonstrate their economic and financial independence of other countries in the Commonwealth, particularly the UK, and partly to secure some external and internal advantage in the political sphere. It is yet too early to say whether, and if so, how long Pakistan will be able to maintain the present value of its currency. Our counter-measures do seem to have made some impression on its weak defences. The situation of jute cultivators in East Bengal has been causing the Pakistan Government deep concern. Their latest attempt to bolster up jute prices seems to be a desperate bid to stop leakages. Cotton prices in Pakistan are also showing a downward trend. If this goes on

for some time, the economic situation in Pakistan will undoubtedly take a turn for the worse. Already, signs are visible of some discontent both in East and West Pakistan. How far these will have political repercussions, it is too early to say, but if the determined opposition of the West Punjab politicians to the Public Safety Ordinance issued by the Central Government is an index, we can take it that it would not be a smooth sailing for the Central Government in Pakistan.

8. We have now had a new Pakistan Evacuee Property Ordinance, the provisions of which are both severe and drastic. In effect, however, it is merely legalising what has already been going on in the executive sphere. In Pakistan, the law always lags behind executive action, whereas in India executive action lags behind the law. There is no pretence in Pakistan at fairness or legality. It is bare-faced loot and brigandage of non-Muslim property. This has already resulted in an exodus of considerable dimensions from Pakistan to India. On the other hand, our High Commissioner reports from Karachi that the action taken in India against Muslim notables is already having effect in Pakistan, so that the Muslim refugees in Karachi are said to be forming an association with the object of bringing pressure to bear on the Pakistan Central Government to agree to the exchange of urban property between refugees in India and those in Pakistan, and later, perhaps, even to agree to the balance of the property being settled on a Government-to-Government basis.

9. You will recall that, during his visit to East Punjab, the Prime Minister made most conciliatory references to Pakistan, but the response from Pakistan to this approach has been anything but satisfactory. On the contrary, there have been derisive remarks on what has been called "India's binding attitude." Pakistan is going ahead with full-scale military preparations. Large numbers of people are being trained in the ARF, importance is being attached to recruitment and training of National Guards; and arms and ammunitions are being acquired in large quantities from other countries. The Pakistan Prime Minister who toured the Frontier last month and indulged in bellicose speeches against India has recently been to East Pakistan, where he has sought to build up the low morale of the people by even more bellicose speeches. Our reports, however, indicate that the Pakistan Premier's tour of East Pakistan was not such a success as is being made out in a section of the Pakistan Press; on the other hand, signs of hostility were clearly visible among the many audiences which the Pakistan Premier encountered during his tour.

It would be elementary prudence not to ignore all these manifestations of Pakistan's bellicose attitude. We ourselves must be prepared on all fronts to resist attacks if and whenever they come. In the meantime, any frontier violation by Pakistani forces, however insignificant in itself, must be strongly resisted. During the last week of September, a strong force of Pakistan police crossed a river in Gurdaspur district and took positions in areas which hitherto they had not occupied. They claimed that these areas belonged to them under the Radcliffe Award, and despite an earlier inter-Dominion agreement prescribing the machinery for the settlement of disputes of this kind, they chose to push forward their forces during the night and indulged in some firing on our positions not very far away. We immediately made it clear to them that we would resist any further advance and asked them, pending discussion of this matter, that their forces should be withdrawn. This attitude appears to have had some effect, and the Pakistan forces drew back to where they had come from.

10. India's election to the Security Council and the solid support which the proposal had from practically all sides of the UNO are significant events. It is equally significant that this success was achieved in spite of the fact that India is itself a party to some of the disputes which are on the Security Council agenda, and the Pakistan Government did their worst to exploit this situation. The Pakistan Government are naturally incensed at our success. They might have attributed this to the machinations of the Anglo-American bloc, but fortunately their new-found friends, the Soviet, have also supported us.

11. Unexpected developments recently occurred in French India and, after consultations with the Indian Consul-General in Pondicherry, the Government of India have taken measures to meet the new situation.

It will be recalled that last July the Government of India received a three-man delegation from French India and explained to them their policy on the future of these settlements. The delegates expressed themselves as satisfied and promised on their return to call a meeting of the municipal councils to pass a resolution asking for the merger of the settlements with India, without a referendum. In the event of this proving unacceptable to the French government, they promised to vote for India during the referendum. It may be noted that the delegation consisted of members of the French India Socialist Party, which almost exclusively controls the municipal councils.

Not only have the French India Socialists gone back on the assurances given to us, they have also misrepresented the Government of India's policy with regard to these settlements. On 17 October they passed a resolution welcoming the French proposal for autonomy and asking that it be put into practice as soon as possible. At the same time, they accused the Government of India of exercising economic pressure and called for a postponement of the referendum by six months. There was no reference to merger with India. On the other hand, the leader of the Socialist Party, in his statement regarding his conversation in New Delhi, referred unfavourably to his talks here.

The Government of India, after consultations with their Consul-General, have taken the following measures:

(i) An official statement of the Government of India's policy towards French India after its merger with the Indian Union has been issued.

(ii) Our Embassy in Paris has been asked to press for a revision of the out-dated electoral rolls in the French settlements and to ask the French Government to formulate, in consultation with the Government of India, the modalities for the referendum as soon as possible. The Government of India have also stated that if the revision of the electoral rolls requires postponement of the referendum, they would not object to this, provided the postponement is for the minimum time necessary for this purpose.

(iii) While agreeing to the selection of eight out of twelve names furnished by the French Government for appointment as neutral observers during the referendum, the Government of India have, in addition, suggested the selection of at least four more observers out of a list of six names, chosen from China, the Philippines, Egypt and Burma, furnished by us.

(iv) The Government of India have decided not to pursue the negotiations for a fresh Customs Union Agreement. This is the one important bargaining point we have and its conclusion, in the light of the latest developments, would only assist elements which are anti-Indian or whose loyalty is at best dubious. It is proposed to inform the French Government that as the French draft was unsatisfactory and there is little time left before the referendum, further negotiations are not considered worthwhile.

(v) Mahe—Early this month, the French Public Works Department endeavoured to encroach upon the 18 feet of road

inside Indian territory on the Mahe border on the northern bank of the Mahe river by carrying out repairs to it. In order to assert Indian title to this land, the Madras Government have set up a prohibition check-post on this point and we have asked the French Embassy in New Delhi to take immediate steps to ensure that the French authorities in Mahe desist from such wrongful acts in future.

12. During the last month the Constituent Assembly held one of its most important sessions in which it disposed of many controversial issues with, I am happy to say, the maximum amount of goodwill and co-operation possible. Amongst the matters discussed were the question of guarantees to the Services, the reorganisation of the Assembly, the chapter regarding States, the Central and provincial judiciaries, the provisions relating to sales tax and emergency threatening economic stability and the position of Jammu & Kashmir State. In regard to the Services and Judiciary, the Constituent Assembly decided to honour in full the past commitments and undertakings which we had given to them. The existence of a contented, trustful and disciplined Civil Service and of an honest and impartial judicial administration as an indispensable feature of efficient democratic administration is axiomatic. The morale of the services had been considerably weakened on account of the persistent attacks on the part of ill-informed critics. The guarantee provisions have served to restore that morale and I would particularly appeal to you to see that this improvement in morale is maintained. At all times, an efficient Civil Service is necessary; in the present formative and difficult stage through which we are passing, such need is even more pronounced. There is also another aspect of this problem which required very serious consideration. After the experience of several years in office the Ministers have generally understood the clear division between the functions of the civil servant and those of the politician. I feel, however, that our members of the legislature have yet to understand fully the demarcation between the sphere of the civil servant and that of the politician. Unless we are quite clear as to where the politician begins and the administrator ends and vice versa, we are not likely to achieve that administrative adjustment between the Government servants and the politicians which is necessary for the smooth working of a democratic Government. As regards the judiciary, the problem of securing Judges of a sufficiently high calibre and integrity has been taxing us for the last several months. There has been a noticeable dearth of talent in this field

but the uncertainty of the constitutional provisions has accentuated this scarcity. Fortunately the Assembly appreciated the various factors which govern the question of guarantees to the Judges. It is possible, however, that some of the Judges who are not covered by this guarantee will feel discontented. We have under consideration how best to remove this discontent and if we succeed, we might be able to achieve a further measure of stability in this important branch of public service.

13. The provisions regarding the States constitute a landmark in the history of our constitutional discussions as well as of unification of the country. A little more than two years ago, the attitude of the Princes was an unknown quantity. There was a tendency to negotiate with us on a footing of equality and on the basis of their own sovereignty. The Political Department saw to it that we were kept as much apart as possible. From that position to travel to the present one, in which practically all distinctions between provinces and State Unions are abolished and there is a complete uniformity in the constitutional relationship between the States and provinces on the one hand and the Centre on the other marks a silent revolution of great significance in the history of this country. It now remains for those who would be entrusted with the responsibility of administration in these areas to utilize the opportunities that will now devolve on them with a sense of perspective and responsibility and with a true civic conscience.

14. The economic and financial provisions of the new Constitution which were passed during the last session of the Constituent Assembly are no less important than some of those to which I have referred above. The diversity of problems which arise in provinces has to be set against the uniformity which has to be preserved at the Centre. We have also to set the good of the constituent units against the good of the whole. The strength of a chain may lie in its weakest unit; at the same time it is necessary to ensure that there is a homogeneity and oneness in the essential constituent element of the whole chain. These principles, in brief, constitute the justification for the provisions which have been introduced in the Draft Constitution on the question of sales tax and on the subject of financial emergency. The provinces may feel that those constitute an encroachment on provincial autonomy. Such encroachment, however, is inherent in any federal structure. Notions of autonomy which existed decades ago, when other federal constitutions were fashioned, have become out of date, now that the world has shrunk in size and life is

becoming more and more materialistic and our economic interdependence is getting more and more pronounced. Moreover, we have got to remember that on account of the vastness of its size, the recent growth of the ideas of unity and uniformity, the current prevalence of separatist tendencies, though of a slightly different nature from those which prevailed some centuries ago, point to certain safeguards which must preserve the essential unity of the political, administrative and economic fabric of India. Although I yield to none in my admiration for the manner in which generally provinces have responded to the call of the Centre in making sacrifices for the sake of the country at large, I must express astonishment at the fact that even now in certain essential matters the provinces take too limited a view of our problems. In some such cases their attitude to the larger question is determined primarily by provincial interests. I can sympathise with their local difficulties; at the same time it behoves us in the larger interests of the country to have a wider vision, so that we can see the whole problem in its true perspective and reach a solution which enshrines the principles of the greatest good of the largest number.

15. During the last one month we have been concentrating on the solution of our economic difficulties. The large drain on our sterling balances, our diminishing cash balances with the Reserve Bank, and the stagnation in the investment market, combined with the maintenance of a high level of expenditure, made it absolutely necessary for us to make drastic cuts in our expenditure. As if this problem was not sufficiently serious, devaluation of the pound sterling presented to us a serious emergent difficulty. We had to take a decision swiftly and firmly. In the circumstances in which we were placed no other decision was possible than that we should proportionately devalue the rupee. To the ways and means difficulty, to which I have referred above, was thus added, in a greater measure than at any time in the past, the difficulty of foreign exchange and an adverse balance of trade. We have now taken decisions in regard to drastic cuts in imports and measures for stimulating our exports. The details of the decisions which we have taken have either been communicated to you officially or have been made public through the Press.

16. This, however, brings me to placing before you certain views on the larger economic question. In this sphere we have to deal with the rising spiral of prices and the resultant increase in the cost of living, inflation, contraction in investment in industries,

reduced level of production in certain important industries, the scarcity of food and the higher cost of expenditure on administration, particularly the Defence Services. While all the above items are, to a large extent, inter-dependent, all except the expenditure on the Defence Services are more or less within our control. The requirements of the Defence Services, however, are regulated by considerations not wholly or even largely internal. These bear the impact of our foreign relations and dangers of aggression from outside. In the present political situation in the neighbouring countries, namely, China and Burma, and in the present state of our relationship with Pakistan, we have no alternative but to maintain almost intact the present strength of our Army and equipment etc. The level of expenditure on the Defence Services being therefore inelastic, almost the whole burden of the economy naturally falls on the civil departments.

17. As you must have gathered from the reports which have appeared in the Press, we had therefore to make drastic cuts both on revenue and development expenditure on the civil side. In regard to the other problems referred to above, obviously the remedies have to aim at reduction in prices, increase in production, and inducement for investments. While a general reduction in prices would certainly be desirable, a reduction in the prices of commodities and goods the expenditure on which forms by far the larger part of the common man's budget is essential. It is in this that lies the justification of the reduction which we have made in the prices of foodgrains and cloth. I am sorry that it has not been possible to make a substantial reduction in the price of sugar which in the context of the present crisis in sugar acquires a peculiar importance. I shall not enter into the reasons which have prevented this reduction, but I should like to say that if we had been able to reduce the price of sugar substantially, it would have had a great psychological effect, and might have better attuned the mind of the common man to the need for a general lowering of prices. However, the reduction in prices which we have secured is to a large extent artificial. We have had to resort to some unorthodox devices. I hope that even this artificial reduction in prices will be followed up by a genuine lowering down of price levels of essential commodities, so that there might be an all-round improvement in our wage structure and in the cost of living. At the same time, any artificial reduction of prices without taking into account the law of supply and demand is bound to fail in the long run. We have, therefore, got to support this reduction in prices by increased production of goods. Such increased

production, however, has not only reference to lowering in prices but is also an important factor in its bearing on the problem of inflation. We, therefore, attach great value in our economic programme to the question of increasing production up to the maximum capacity of our existing plants and machinery. The problem has to be tackled from two points of view. One is removing impediments which restrict production and the second is ensuring greater efficiency in the methods of production. I hope you will take such administrative measures as may serve the objects which we have in view.

18. The question of breaking up the present stagnation in the investment market and attracting investment is a difficult one. It is a question of psychology; the investment market is the most sensitive in the world; it reacts adversely to the least disturbing factor, but is slow to respond to any positive stimulating measures. We have, therefore, to be careful in our approach to the investment market and the investor. We have to remove within reasonable limits the grounds on which its "fear complex" is based. We have to lay greater emphasis on ameliorative rather than punitive measures. And, lastly, we have to take a practical view of questions in regard to taxation and prosecutions. In the former category, we have to consider the question of "black" money; in the latter, we have to take into account the infringement of our control measures. Evasion of taxes or of laws is a crime against the State and as such must be attended by severe punishment. At the same time, there is no reason whatsoever for departing from the general rule of prudence that a person should be punished only when his guilt is proved. *The burden of proof must lie on the accuser.* It is more necessary in such a class of cases than in many others that the innocent should not suffer the least harm. Where evasion takes place as a result of defect in the law, the wrath of the executive cannot obviously be visited on the evader and where there is mere suspicion of guilt and no definite proof, unnecessary prosecution merely creates nervousness in an over-sensitive market. Instead of doing any good to anybody it merely injures the cause of the community. Furthermore, action such as searches and arrests must be judiciously determined and discerningly executed. An unnecessary show of authority serves only to bring the law into contempt; in addition it unjustifiably disgraces the victim in public estimation. It, therefore, follows that the authority to prosecute or punish the evaders must be exercised with a great deal of circumspection. There is as much moral obligation of the administrator of the tax laws or

of the police to satisfy themselves, on objective and not subjective grounds, about the guilt of the person before the process of law is started, as there is of every citizen to pay the just dues of the State into the public exchequer or to observe implicitly the laws of the land. I should personally be grateful if you would impress on your officers the need for caution and circumspection in this respect. The various measures which the Central and Provincial Governments have enacted to enforce the administration of control of different kinds have placed large, perhaps too large, powers in the hands of various authorities and their staff. It is our moral duty to see that these powers are not used for harassment of the innocent but are used only for the punishment of the guilty.

19. I shall now deal with some of the important measures which we have recently taken in implementation of the economic programme to which a reference was made by the Finance Minister in the Dominion Parliament in the debate on devaluation. As a first step in the drive for savings, we have decided to introduce a scheme for Government servants to be followed up by extension in due course to employees in commercial and industrial establishments, other income-tax paying people and the agriculturists. The scheme for Government servants will be finalized shortly and will be forwarded to the Provincial Governments when ready with a request to make the same applicable to their employees also. I hope your Government will not find any difficulty in acceding to this request. Another step that was mentioned in the debate in the Dominion Parliament in connection with devaluation was that, to further the stimulus which devaluation generally provides and thereby assist production and development, provision will be made for suitable governmental assistance for the extension of banking facilities in rural areas. The Government of India have now decided to set up a committee to work out details of the scheme for extension of such facilities. Our Finance Ministry has already sent out a telegram on 26 October 1949 in this connection asking for the concurrence of the provinces to the proposed enquiry, and I hope your Government will agree that the enquiry should be undertaken.

20. The issue of bearer bonds as a measure of stimulating investment has been engaging our attention for some time. An issue of bearer bonds with interest free of income-tax may bring us a substantial amount particularly from the relatively smaller income-tax payers who have evaded payment and for fear of being found out have kept their money frozen in the form of currency. We

have, therefore, decided to try out such an issue, and further details are being worked out.

21. Partly to support the reduction in the prices of food-grains and partly to increase the rations by a substantial quantity, we have recently been negotiating with the Government of the United States of America a proposal to exchange a million tons of wheat with strategic materials from India. Our idea was that if we could obtain one million tons of wheat as additional supply from the United States of America at a nominal price, it would assist us in both these respects. We were told that the USA had a very large wheat surplus and they may not be unwilling to part with some wheat at a concessional price. Enquiries were accordingly set afoot and we have received a counter-proposition that they could possibly give us 6,50,000 tons in exchange for strategic materials and 3,50,000 tons to be stored by them with us with title resting with the USA Government, to be used only in an emergency. The US authorities are not at present inclined to offer any concessional price in respect of the 6,50,000 tons which makes it impossible for us to accept the proposition. We cannot hope to export sufficient quantities of strategic materials to pay even for the 6,50,000 tons on the basis of market prices. Negotiations are still going on and I would keep you informed about developments. We have also taken up with the USA the question of getting supplies of raw cotton of which we understand there is a surplus in that country. Devaluation has stimulated the demand of cloth from foreign countries. We should obviously exploit this demand if we can do so with due regard to our internal demand for cloth. It would, therefore, be of substantial advantage to us if we could import raw cotton to the extent that we require it, in order to deal fully with our domestic and foreign demand of cloth. From this point of view, we attach even greater importance to our negotiations on cotton than on wheat. Success in these negotiations is rather problematical but if the deal goes through, I have no doubt that it will be of substantial economic benefit to us.

22. You are aware of our programme to make India self-sufficient in food-grains by 1951. That emphasises the importance of the Grow More Food campaign and the programme of improved methods of cultivation, improved varieties and produce of crops, reclamation of cultivable wastes and a judicious planning of crops. I shall not worry you with the many detailed schemes which our Agricultural Department has in hand in respect of all these matters. The recent cuts which we have imposed on some of the Grow More Food schemes were virtually forced on us on

account of our economic difficulties to which I have already made a reference in the earlier part of this letter. I realise that this might mean a retardation in our programme of self-sufficiency, but I still believe that if we make a determined and united effort in this direction even within the funds which we have at our disposal, it should be possible for us to make up the comparatively small deficiency that exists. The essential problem is to make every pie that we spend on this campaign go the farthest it can and to see that the results are enduring. I should, in particular, emphasise the need for a vigilant check on the actual implementation of these programmes in the field and that check should come from the highest to the lowest officers engaged in this great national undertaking. The practical results of the Grow More Food campaigns in the past have been somewhat disappointing, but we rely on you and your colleagues to see that our record in future is much better than in the past and that we produce within the scheduled time our projected results, even though we might not be able to spend as much money as we had originally programmed. At the same time I must sound a note of warning. The post-devaluation developments have emphasised very clearly the need for self-sufficiency in cotton and jute. These crops feed two of our most important industries and we cannot afford to place these industries in jeopardy with attendant disastrous consequences on our labour situation and foreign currency and domestic supply of cloth. Jute is our greatest asset in regard to acquisition of dollars, while cotton not only enables [us] to meet the growing demand of the domestic market but is now attracting some substantial foreign trade. We may, therefore, have to prefer self-sufficiency in cotton and jute to self-sufficiency in food.

23. I have been much concerned over the difficulties which the general public has had to face in regard to their demand for sugar. The optimistic forecasts of a surplus in sugar and the possibility of export of that commodity compare very unfavourably with the scarcity which is now evident in the market. There may be explanations for this phenomenon, but the public cannot be expected to be satisfied with those explanations. It is obvious that the hunger for sugar, if unsatisfied, will create discontent anyhow. Any elaborate justification for the steps which we have had to take or any explanation of our failure to anticipate and deal with the scarcity in time, is not likely to carry much conviction in the face of the hard reality of want. We have, therefore, to see that we take the fullest possible measures to unearth hidden stocks where they exist, and to see that we obtain fresh supplies as quickly as

possible. The problem is also one of starting crushing operations as early as possible and of removing any impediments, administrative, transport or marketing, as the case may be, with the least possible delay so that we can attain increased production and equitable distribution during the next season. We have also to ensure that this time our supplies are conserved on a judicious basis, so that during the latter part of the next year there is no scarcity of the type that we have experienced this year. You will doubtless consider this problem in so far as it affects your own province and take necessary ameliorative and safeguarding measures.

24. I should also like to refer in brief to the problem of jute. You know that we depend to a large extent on the supply of raw jute from Pakistan. On account of devaluation of the Indian rupee, accompanied by failure on the part of Pakistan to follow suit, the problem of getting jute from that country bristles with difficulties. There is an attempt on the part of Pakistan to sell jute to us at prices which would be uneconomic for us. At the same time, our mills will have to curtail their production if we cannot ensure for them full supply of the raw material that they require. The crisis, through which our jute production is passing at present, but which we hope to tackle successfully with the policy which we have adopted after devaluation, emphasises the need for self-sufficiency in the production of raw jute. This means that we must complete our scheme for increased jute production even earlier than the scheduled date. We would be grateful for your assistance in achieving this objective.

25. You must have seen recently a reference in the Press to the negotiations for an Indo-Ceylon trade agreement. The two delegations met in New Delhi between 21 and 25 October to discuss the exchange of essential goods and commodities between the two countries. They agreed that the close economic relations existing between Ceylon and India should be consolidated and expanded, and reviewed the probable course of trade between India and Ceylon from 1 January to 31 December 1950. As a result of these discussions, schedules of exports have been drawn up, for which India and Ceylon would be prepared to grant the necessary export and import licences up to specified quantities. It was also agreed that both the Governments will render all reasonable assistance in facilitating the export and import of goods and commodities covered by the agreement as well as other goods and commodities being imported into and exported from either country. Having regard to the somewhat different attitude of the Ceylonese Government on certain important questions affecting India, this

development in our relationship with that island is reassuring and I hope that the agreement will work satisfactorily.

26. I am happy to say that the general law and order position has been eminently satisfactory. There may be stray incidents here and there, but on the whole the peace in the country has been well maintained. For this we are deeply grateful to you and your colleagues on whom the main burden of wardenship of law and order in your province falls. The internal political situation has also given us not much cause for concern or apprehension. You might be feeling somewhat concerned over the latest utterances of Master Tara Singh, but I should like you to appraise those speeches in the light of some healthy developments in the Sikh situation. With the satisfactory disposal of the political question of safeguards for the Sikhs and the settlement of the language controversy in East Punjab and PEPS Union, the main sting has been taken out of fanatics whom Master Tara Singh might be taken to lead. My own feeling is that the Sikhs now realise that they have everything to lose and practically nothing to gain by persisting in their extreme demands. This realisation has been prompted partly by the firm action which we took last February when Master Tara Singh indulged in open defiance of law and authority and partly by the spirit of accommodation which we exhibited in dealing with the two questions to which I have referred. Indeed, there are signs that Master Tara Singh himself has realised the need for gradually returning to sanity and sobriety. His fire-eating performance of Amritsar can be contrasted with the somewhat apologetic stand he took in Agra. While, therefore, Master Tara Singh's activities require some vigilance, there is no occasion for any serious misgivings.

27. You must have also followed in the Press the recent developments in the Punjab Ministerial tangle. The merits of the case have been somewhat confused in the prejudiced controversies which have been raised in the Press and on the platform. The essential point is that the Leader of the Congress Assembly Party had forfeited the confidence of the party and had himself confessed failure to lead the composite Ministry. In these circumstances, a change was inevitable. There is an inclination, however, to offer two possible alternatives to the course which was adopted. One is the taking over of the administration by the Governor, and the other a General Election. As regards the first question, apart from the fact that no such provision exists in the Government of India Act, it would be an outrage on the Constitution to declare

that, because a party decides to change its leadership periodical-ly, the provisions of the Constitution cannot be operated. As regards the latter, a general election cannot obviously take place until some months later; an election on a restricted franchise will not serve the purpose. Even if it did, in view of the dislocation of population in that province, it will not be possible to hold an election on that basis. Election on adult franchise, even if it were feasible now, would merely have to be repeated some months later. I am quite clear, therefore, that we have taken the only course possible. It will now be for Congressmen in East Punjab to show a sense of responsibility and true civic spirit which are long overdue.

28. You may have followed closely the unfortunate developments in connection with the Calcutta Corporation strike. I should like you to consider carefully the points involved, so that you might be able to decide for yourself your course of conduct in the event of a similar happening occurring in your own province. The points in dispute between the employer and the workers had been referred for adjudication to a tribunal. Once the adjudication machinery is set in motion, it is as wrong for the workers to resort to strike as it is for Government to enter into any bargain regarding an interim relief or to put pressure on any authority to grant such relief. Any such action would be putting a premium on intransigence and would encourage labour always to put up its demands. My own advice is that, in such cases, Government should set their face against any interim relief, though they should do their best to expedite a decision from the adjudication machinery. The orders which the adjudication tribunal may pass can easily be given retrospective effect, so that the interests of labour would be completely safeguarded. Further, once a strike is declared illegal, there can be no compromise with those who continue to promote an illegal strike, just as there can never be a compromise with crime once it is established that a crime has been committed. Unless we adopt a firm line, I am afraid we shall be encouraging people to go on strike on the least provocation. I realise that, in this particular case, the Provincial Government were in a difficult position in view of the fact that the strike was sponsored and promoted by the local INTUC organisation. I would not, however, hesitate to be firm in this matter even if the organisation, with which we *might be dealing*, has Congress affiliations. In matters of vital concern to the community at large, we cannot be guided by purely political considerations.

29. The month of October has also seen the completion of our integration plans in regard to the States. Although the States concerned, namely, Banaras, Tripura and Manipur are small in size, they are the last to come within the implementation of our integration policy, within the space of less than two years. We have thus completed a great process of unification and democratisation. The task of consolidation and building up of an efficient administration must now engage our attention. It is to this task that we propose to address ourselves in the coming months.

30. I have now given you a rather long account of the last month in which we had to take, in the absence for the greater part of our Prime Minister, decisions of great significance in the constitutional, administrative and economic sphere. I have also placed before you certain views which, in my judgment, embody the minimum essential requisites for the success of our economic programme. I should like you carefully to reflect on those views and to take such administrative and other measures in conformity with those views as may be required. The situation calls for a great co-ordinated effort on the part of the Centre and the provinces, and if I may say so, it also requires a wider rather than a purely provincial outlook on the different aspects of our problem. If we could approach our problems on this basis, our success would be assured.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

To: All Provincial Premiers;
Chief Ministers of States Unions;
Chief Minister of Mysore; and
Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir.

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New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Dr. Matthai,

I am sending herewith a rough draft of the speech which I propose to deliver tomorrow at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Council for Industries which is being convened by Syama Prasad Mookerjee. The meeting will take place at 10 a.m. I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know if you have any comments by tomorrow morning.

2. I am very sorry for the short notice, but it was only yesterday that this was finally settled and I could not make even a rough draft earlier. I do hope you will not mind the inconvenience which I am putting you to.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Finance
2 King Edward Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

This is the first meeting of your Standing Committee. Such a machinery of advice and consultation has not come a day too soon. My experience of probably the most formidable problems that confronted us after independence, viz. the Indian States, has convinced me that *mutual consultations* are the best form of resolving doubts, distance and difficulties and it is only by a pooling of our intellect that we can achieve most satisfactory practical results. In the field of industrialisation, particularly, when we consider the variety of problems with which we are faced, both of national and international character, the advantage of such consultative machinery is obvious. For the success of such machinery, however, it is necessary that we must all speak freely, frankly and without reserve but with an attitude of understanding and sympathy for each other's point of view. It is in this spirit that I propose to address you today.

We must bear in mind the comparatively recent growth of our industries and the short history of our industrialisation. India has been looked upon for ages as a predominantly agricultural country. Those who swore by that statement little realised the wealth of resources that were available in the country and that they would, if properly tapped and efficiently exploited, place this country in the forefront of industrialised countries in the world. We have, however, to realise that in the process of this industrialisation we have to make up the leeway of decades, maybe centuries. There has never been and never can be anything like an industrial revolution in this country, which would quickly transform its agricultural economy into a predominantly industrial one. Our industrialisation starting at a time of more progressive ideas than characterised the industrial revolution of Europe has naturally to take note of modern ideas of relationship between the employer and labour and between both and the general community. It has also to take note of what would, in the context of 18th-century conditions, be severe handicaps and drawbacks. These naturally place limitations

on the freedom of individual initiative and enterprise. They naturally circumscribe the limit within which personal ability, talent and competence can function. If you add to these complexities those of international finance and trade movements and the big handicap of foreign domination, you have a picture of difficulties which would make even stout hearts tremble. I am glad to say, however, that through the foresight, the spirit of adventure and the nationalistic fervour of our pioneers of industry in the past and the interest taken in our industrialisation by a comparatively small band of industrialists we have been able to establish centres of industrial installations here and there which form the nucleus of our industrial effort today.

I have stressed these factors because I feel that it is in the background of this history that we have to study our present conditions and plan our course for the future. I have not deliberately dealt with the factors which have helped us in our industrial growth because that is a feature generally realised and often taken into account. There can be no denying the fact that the two world wars have made a tremendous difference in the pace of our progress. The operation of the nationalistic forces in the country has not failed to affect the pace and character of our industrialisation. Nevertheless, I feel that those who try to find fault with our present industrial structure or with the policies which generally govern our conduct in the industrial field would do well to remember that there is another side of the story without which our appreciation of the situation cannot be complete.

There is also another object in my emphasising the difficulties which we have had to face in the process of industrialisation. We are today faced with an economic situation without parallel in our history. After the end of the war we succeeded to an inheritance of substantial foreign balances and a comparatively large cash balance in our own country. Today we find our foreign balances substantially reduced; what is worse, they are locked up in a country which is finding itself considerably in difficulties, and the economic situation of which is in many respects worse than our own. Our cash balances have also been largely drained away. The tide of post-war inflation is still breaking on our shores. In foreign trade our imports have been outbalancing our exports, with the result that the currencies which matter to us for our industrial effort are in short supply. Inside the country the spiral of prices has been rising. There is a high level of taxation and we have already placed the last but one straw on the proverbial camel's back. The cumulative effect of our taxation policy has undoubtedly been to reduce the richness as it was understood in what some might regard as the glorious past. This diminution in the resources of what were the investing classes has adversely affected investments in trade and industry. Indeed, it would not be far wrong to say that except small savings the sources of investment have practically dried up. The middle classes, which were the mainstay of our economic power, find themselves in sore straits. Labour has undoubtedly

secured higher wages. Its demands in the way of consumer goods have increased both in quality and quantity. The agriculturists as a result of higher prices have also improved their material resources, but neither labour nor the agriculturists are in a position to invest on anything like the same scale in which the middle classes used to do in the past. Other countries have adopted the role of welfare state when they were substantially more advanced in their industrialisation. We have to adopt that role today when we are hardly on our feet as an industrial country. All this has produced a tremendous strain not only on our national exchequer but also on the capacity of industrialists to help themselves.

If we look at the causes which have brought about the present situation, the remedies become obvious. It is quite clear that we cannot go on maintaining such a high level of prices. Prices must, therefore, come down. With *our incomes shrinking and the prospect of further shrinkage, unless we stage a quick recovery*, we must cut down our expenditure in order to balance our budget. We must build up our resources in those foreign currencies which we so sorely need for our industrial effort. For this we must cut down those imports which are for our immediate purposes unessential and in this I shall include food imports, because I am convinced that with honest, co-ordinated and concentrated effort we can make up whatever deficiency in food production there exists today. We must create a sense of confidence both in the investor and in those on whom will fall the great national duty of utilising investments. It is only then that we can successfully implement our efforts to stimulate investments and to ensure that every pie that is saved is utilised in a great national endeavour to stage a recovery from severe economic malaise. Above all this, however, we must build up our strength not on the basis of temporary palliatives or artificial reductions in prices or stimulation of investments but on surer foundations of increased production and increased wealth of which that production is such a great contributory factor.

From my analysis of the present economic situation and the remedies required to deal with it, you will see that I attach great value to utilising our present industrial capacity to its maximum degree of efficiency. I shall, however, turn to this subject later, because that would form part of my direct appeal to you. Here I should like to give you an account of what we have done since the Finance Minister announced Government's programme in his two speeches in the Constituent Assembly on 5 and 6 October 1949. I and my colleagues have constantly kept under review during the one month that has passed the requirements of our economic situation. You must have followed in the Press the measures which we have *announced from time to time* in implementation of the programme that was laid down by the Finance Minister in his speech. We have succeeded in reducing food and cloth prices by an appreciable margin. These two commodities form by far

the largest part of an average citizen's budget. We are going ahead with the examination of other proposals for the reduction of prices, but, frankly speaking, I am not satisfied with the reduction which we have secured either in extent or the manner of it. It is clear that we have been able to secure this reduction partly by artificial aids and I readily grant that, if reduction has to be effective, it must be natural and long sustained. As you must have all noticed, we have effected very substantial economies in our expenditure. It is true that it has meant the closure of some undertakings which must be regarded as useful, but when the question comes of one's own existence, it is life itself and not artificial aids to life which is of paramount significance. The economies which we have effected must be judged in that light. You must have also observed the heavy cuts which we have imposed in imports and the regulations which we have issued regarding our exports. These have already succeeded in substantially reducing our adverse balances and it is quite possible that sooner rather than later we shall achieve a position of vantage as compared to our previous margin of adversity. Our taxation policy is, as you know, formulated on an annual basis. I have no doubt, however, that my Hon'ble colleague the Finance Minister will re-examine the whole taxation structure in the light of the present situation when he frames his proposals for the next budget. You have already his assurance that as soon as opportunity offers itself we will bring down direct taxation to a more reasonable level. You have also his diagnosis that the present levels of taxations are levels which are uneconomical from the country's point of view. I would ask you to put faith in these statements and to plan your future course of action on that basis. I know that you have carried a very heavy burden in the past, but surely the prospect of relief of that burden must brace you to greater efforts. At the same time, I must appeal to you to help Government in ensuring that every pic of the revenue due to Government is paid up promptly.

This brings me to the question of evasion of taxes which has admittedly taken place in the past and which I dare say is taking place even today. I do not think that any Government has been able to devise a leak-proof system of taxation. I also acknowledge that the profit motive is a great stimulant to exertion and rules human conduct in whatever walk of life he may be whether it is the capitalist, the middle classes, the labour or the agriculturists with which we may have to deal. At the same time, transcending everything must be a high sense of civic consciousness and national duty. What would riches avail those who have hoarded wealth if the economic conditions of the country unsolved lead to a chaos? Nor would it help Government at all to devise measures which do not bring out for utilisation in economic undertakings all these hoards. After all we have to realise that the longer these hoards are kept where they are the less chance there is of their yielding any return to the owner and the more distant the prospect for the Government

to utilise them in stimulating trade and industry. The problem, therefore, is not merely ethical but also economical. Economics is an intensely practical science and I would urge upon you to look at the practical side of this problem more closely and to evolve remedies whereby we can harness these hidden resources for the purpose of national service. I have always maintained that it is the duty of every citizen who has talent, who has experience and who has ability to give the benefit of these virtues to the nation. I can assure you that, if you can put forward constructive suggestions in this regard, Government would be only too glad to give their close and earnest consideration to them.

However, as I have already stated above, I would not regard temporary palliatives adequate. They may only succeed in postponing what would, if we do not take action in time, be inevitable. In my judgment the key to our economic situation lies in increased production. The problem of increasing production has to be looked at in two ways. It means a greater utilisation of our industrial capacity at present. It also means that we must not be content with merely utilising what we have, but must explore fresh fields and pastures new. For the expansion of our industrial effort we must obviously have more capital and investments. I was looking the other day into the figures of our installed capacity and was comparing them with our production figures both last year and this year. My study of these figures has convinced me that there is considerable scope for greater efforts in order to achieve peak production up to the maximum of our installed capacity. Increased production would enable us not only to meet the demands of the consumers but also substantially to cut down our imports thereby saving valuable foreign exchange for other more pressing needs, chief of which would be the import of capital goods which we would require for old or new industrial undertakings. To name a few industries in which I feel increased production is possible and must be achieved, I would mention steel, cotton textiles, sugar, electrical goods, chemicals, machine tools, paper and cement. I shall not bother you with details; nor is there time for it but I am sure your further examination of the position would convince you that what I am stating is merely a factual position and not an imaginary picture. I would appeal to you to consider the trends of production in these industries and advise us as to on what lines we can secure improvement in production figures and attain maximum efficiency and output. I can assure you that any suggestions which you might make with a view to assisting you in achieving the targets and removing difficulties and handicaps which you experience in doing so would be very carefully and sympathetically examined by Government. I can state unequivocally that our aim and purpose is to remove obstacles and not to place new ones in your way and it is our ambition to make a great co-ordinated effort in order that by maximum co-operation between yourselves and Government we may jointly serve a great national cause. I shall be

keeping myself in touch with the progress of your deliberations and, if it becomes necessary for me to consult any of you collectively or individually I shall most gladly do so. I am sure, however, you will realise that the problems brook no delay and as an earnest of my sincerity and genuine desire to secure your all round co-operation, I place myself at the disposal of my colleague the Hon'ble Minister for Industry and Supply during the next two days, so that we can finalise a programme which would bring us the desired results in the shortest possible measure of time.

We now come to the question of opening up new industrial enterprises. Here also I would be glad to have your suggestions in regard to the lines on which you would like us to explore the problem. Obviously, I cannot be dogmatic about our programme. The question is largely one of securing sufficient capital and capital goods and the necessary foreign exchange. In laying out our programme, however, our aim must be to survey our resources, to plan out on the basis of what we can achieve in the near future and to ensure that what we produce goes a long way in reducing our dependence on currencies which we can save in order further to intensify our industrial effort. The ultimate object of all these efforts must be to attain that industrial efficiency and self-sufficiency by geometrical progression which would increase general prosperity and thereby secure a higher standard of living for the common man. On the basis of this ultimate objective you can devise a plan for what is immediate or in the near future practicable. We could then—Government, industrialists and labour—all of us participate in a great national effort for recovery and reconstruction. I can assure you that I am asking for guidance and co-operation from you in all humility. I have already stated more than once that talent and experience in industrial effort are scarce commodities. The art and science of industry are specialised subjects and business acumen and industrial ability are more often instinctive than acquired. I know that there is a feeling of frustration and of wasted effort amongst a section of industrialists and business men, but I hope that what I have said above will convince you of the genuineness and sincerity of the appeal which I am making to you and I hope the appeal will not be in vain.

As regards the problem of stimulating investment, we have already intensified our propaganda drive for investment in National Savings Certificates. We have also appointed a committee to consider immediate measures in the direction of extending banking facilities to rural areas. You have probably already seen the Press Note which was issued yesterday in which we have announced our schemes for emergency cuts and compulsory savings in respect of Central Government employees. We hope that other Governments will follow suit and that gradually we would be able to extend the scheme of compulsory savings to other sectors of the population. While the cuts would make an appreciable reduction in our expenditure, we hope that the general public will react to the psychological effect of these cuts. The scheme of

and in his methods which have already paid dividends and which have enabled the labour organisation which grew up under his inspiration to achieve a very substantial measure of success. With faith in these, let labour earnestly take to a full measure of participation in increased production so that it can have more on which to lay its claim than what can be distributed between itself and the employer today. Let it first participate in creating wealth before claiming its just share. Let it regard "go-slow tactics" as inimical to its interest and those of the nation. Today he serves the nation best who produces most and none is a worse enemy of the country than he who retards the process of production.

Finally, let me appeal to you all, labour and industrialists, capitalists and shareholders alike, to grasp fully the nature and extent of the difficulties with which we are faced. The situation is such that we cannot stand any further deterioration. Any resultant uncertainties or confusion are not going to help any one of us; they will only be exploited by those for whom there is neither the sanctity of life nor of property. During the past two years we have faced some of the greatest dangers that any nation had to face throughout its history, let alone in its mere beginnings. In spite of those dangers we have achieved a measure of unity and territorial consolidation which we have never witnessed during the last 2,000 years. Let not those achievements flounder on the economic rock; instead, let us utilise that unity and consolidation to shape our course towards happiness and prosperity on an even keel. I, who have served the nation to the best of my ability in achieving that unity and consolidation, am naturally concerned in jealously guarding it. But, in doing so, I must ask for the assistance and co-operation of every citizen in the land, irrespective of caste, class, or creed.

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1 York Place
New Delhi
11 November 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am very sorry I won't be able to attend today's meeting of the Cabinet as I had already requested representatives of the cotton growing provinces to meet at Bombay to discuss a concrete programme for increasing the production of cotton of the variety which we are now importing from Pakistan. As these representatives have already fixed up their programme, though at a short notice, I have found it difficult to change the dates. The textile interests are very anxious that immediate action should be taken to plan out this increased production. I will therefore be leaving Delhi today and coming back on the 14th night.

I discussed today with Ghanshyamdasji his suggestions with regard to cotton. I will be discussing them further with those who are meeting at Bombay, with cotton trade and the Indian Central Cotton Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas [Doulatram]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MINISTRY OF COMMERCE

At the informal meeting held at Birla House yesterday, it was agreed between Commerce, I. & S. and Finance that in view of the present shortage of staple cotton, we should allow free import of staple fibre from soft currency countries and countries with which we have trade agreements on a balanced basis, e.g., Japan. Industrialists desired that this decision should be given immediate publicity so that imports may be arranged. At the same time, action will have to be taken by the Ministry of I. & S. to instruct the Textile Commissioner that use of staple fibre in the production of cloth should not be discouraged as it is reported to be at present. Publicity to this decision will be given after this note has been seen and concurred in by the Department of Economic Affairs.

14-11-1949

G. C. Desai¹

EXTRACTS

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOOD & AGRICULTURE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE HELD ON 30 APRIL 1949

The conference is of opinion that cotton prices should be fixed in a manner which, while bringing into cultivation lands which were under cotton but are at present lying fallow, would not divert land from foodgrains to cotton. As in case of foodgrain prices which will not be announced till crop prospects are known, the cotton prices should be fixed and announced after the prospects of cotton crop are known, i.e. at about the same time as the foodgrain prices. It is, however, important to encourage substitution of medium and long staple cotton for short staple cotton as far as possible and it is desirable that relative differentials for all varieties may be announced immediately. As the fixation of these differentials which are under consideration will result in an

¹ICS; served in various capacities in Centre and provinces; Chairman, Tariff Board, 1945-47; High Commissioner to Ceylon and Pakistan; member, Lok Sabha from 1967 until his death in September 1972

increase of an appreciable percentage in the price of about three-fourths of the cotton crop, the question has arisen as to in what terms the announcement can best be made in view of its possible effect on the food price situation.

The conference is of the view that it is not proper to fix agricultural prices on an ad hoc basis and without a scientific investigation into the cost of cultivation, margin of profit to the cultivator and other cognate matters.

Pending the result of such investigation the present system of fixing prices after considering the conditions prevailing in different provinces, the desirability of reducing the cost of living subject to the paramount consideration of increasing food production may be continued.

BOMBAY

. . . With regard to cotton there is no case for increase in the price of cotton. . . .

MADRAS

. . . I agree with much that Bombay has said. . . .

U.P.

. . . If we increase the area under cotton production it will not compete with any other cash crop but it will compete with foodgrains. . . .

BIHAR

. . . If we increase the price of cotton it will certainly have repercussion on the prices of food. . . .

ORISSA

. . . Any increase in cotton prices is bound to be reflected in prices of piece-goods and it will have repercussion on foodgrain prices. . . .

ASSAM

. . . Any increase in the price of cotton will affect procurement. . . .

COCHIN

. . . I generally agree with the Member from Orissa. . . .

PATIALA:

. . . Increase in cotton prices will obviously reduce the area under foodgrains. . . .

JAMMU & KASHMIR

. . . Any increase in the price of cotton is to be discouraged. . . .

5 Hastings Road
New Delhi
14 November 1949

My dear Sardarji,

At one of the previous Cabinet meetings, my proposal to set up a Cotton Import Board was generally approved. When the matter was considered in greater detail at a subsequent meeting of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet, it was decided that this should be an informal committee intended primarily to advise Government as to what our policy should be in regard to import of cotton and what machinery should be set up to ensure strict compliance with our policy. The committee met this morning and was attended by Shri Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Shri Ghan-shyamdas Birla, Shri Dharamsey Khatau, Shri Tulsidas Kilachand and Shri Chimanlal Parekh. Shri Kasturbhai and Shri Sri Ram could not be present owing to other preoccupations. I had a talk with Shri Chandavarkar and the meeting this morning reflected his views also. The meeting was attended by officers of the Commerce, Finance and Industry & Supply Ministries.

2. You will be glad to know that the meeting was useful, and that the conclusions which will be placed shortly before the Economic Committee of the Cabinet should, when approved, go a long way towards solving the present cotton crisis arising partly from the Pakistan action to appreciate her currency and partly from the fact that we have been over a number of years eating into our accumulated cotton balances.

3. The conclusions reached were mainly as follows:

(a) *The cotton shortage should be made up by imports from other countries, notably America, Egypt and Brazil, so that our mills do not have to close or slow down for want of raw material.*

(b) *There should be no diminution in our exports of cotton textiles, this being the time when we can, and should, capture as many foreign markets as possible for our textile goods. In any case, we must not fall short of our target of 800 million yards in 1950.*

(c) There should be least disturbance to the internal supply or price structure resulting from either heavy export of cloth or import of raw cotton at somewhat higher prices.

(d) There should be no change in our policy in regard to Pakistan. In other words, we should import Pakistan cotton only if we get it at or below the maximum prices fixed by us and, secondly, if it does not involve remittance of funds so as to lend support to the Pakistan rate of exchange.

4. There is every hope that within the conditions laid down by us above we may get a minimum of two lakhs bales of Pakistan cotton, but this would happen later rather than earlier.

5. Our total shortage of cotton is something like 10 lakh bales which will have to be made up by imports from both America and Brazil. There are certain varieties of Egyptian cotton which could be imported to relieve the cotton shortage, although those varieties would not replace the Pakistan varieties.

6. Import of cotton from soft currency countries is free, though not on the Open General Licence, and the only difficulty of the millowners or the trade in importing the same is the uncertainty that the price structure of our cloth may not be adjusted to the import prices of such cotton. The industry is as anxious as Government to ensure that the internal prices do not rise. With this object in view, they have made two suggestions which will have to be examined in the Ministries concerned. One proposal is that the import duty on foreign cottons should either be removed or reduced in view of the fact that there was and is no import duty on Pakistan cotton. Any cotton which is imported to replace the Pakistan import should therefore enjoy the same concession, viz., exemption from import duty. Whether this is done by exempting a certain quantity of cotton, equal to Pakistan cotton, from import duty, or by reducing the level of import duty on all cotton, is a matter of detail, although obviously from the point of view of international obligations, the former course is impracticable while the latter is the obvious choice. The second recommendation made is that the export margin should be raised so as to enable mills exporting Indian cloth to other countries to charge a little higher price, and thus make up the extra price paid by them for the imported cotton, thus saving the cloth intended for internal consumption from any further price increase. I do not see any difficulty in agreeing to both these requests.

7. The only other point made by the meeting was that there should be as little interference with the allocation of imported

cotton as possible. The representative of the Ministry of Industry & Supply who was present at the meeting agreed with this general proposition, but said that the matter would require further examination which will be made today and the result of which would be intimated to us some time tomorrow.

8. There was thus complete agreement on all the essential points, and we hope to finalise our conclusions within a day or two. As I know that this question of cotton has been causing you constant anxiety, I thought I would write to you straightaway and tell you what has happened so that your mind may be at ease. The moral to be drawn from today's meeting was that in cotton, as in the case of jute, we must revise our present policy, and accept and propagate the goal of self-sufficiency, particularly in those varieties of cotton which used to be Indian before the partition and which are now Pakistani. In this connection Shri Purushottamdas expressed his views strongly to the effect that we are unreal in our policy relating to prices of Indian cotton, and that unless and until we raise Indian cotton prices, we shall not make much headway with our policy of expansion of cotton cultivation. This contention of Shri Purushottamdas was supported by Shri Ghan-shyamdasji and others present at the meeting. We shall have to bear this in mind when we come to consider prices of cotton.

9. The members also urged that we should take a comprehensive view of the relative urgency of expansion of foodgrains, jute, cotton and sugarcane and adopt such policy as is economically the most remunerative in the wider national interest. So far we have been, I feel, somewhat compartmental in approaching this problem. I told the meeting that Government was now considering self-sufficiency in these commodities on an overall basis and would take a decision very shortly.

10. Lastly, Shri Dharamsey Khatau and others urged that whatever decision is taken by Government should be taken as soon as possible, so that mills may proceed accordingly with their programme of both purchase of imported cotton and manufacture of cloth. They have pledged full and whole-hearted support to any policy of Government in this behalf.

11. Finally, it was agreed that we should make the present committee more permanent during the present crisis so that it could meet, say, once a month and review the progress and implications of import of cotton within the objectives set forth in paragraph 3 above. One or two members were proposed to be added

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to the committee which, when fully completed, would be as follows:

- (1) Shri Purushottamdas Thakurdas.
- (2) Shri G. D. Birla.
- (3) Shri Sri Ram.
- (4) Shri Kasturbhai.
- (5) Shri Dharamsey Khatau.
- (6) Shri Chimanlal Parekh.
- (7) Shri Krishnaraj Thackersey.
- (8) Shri V. N. Chandavarkar.
- (9) Shri Tulsidas Kilachand.

Judging by the help that I got from the committee I feel certain that the proposal is a move in the right direction and should be accepted by us.

12. I am sorry for the length of this letter, but I know that you would be interested in what transpired today. The matter will be taken up at a very early meeting of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
15 November 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I am sending herewith a copy of my letter to Neogy on the question of cotton. Neogy tells me that at the meeting of the representatives which he had called the I. & S. Ministry representatives who were present agreed with the general proposition that there should be as little interference with the allocation of imported cotton as possible, but said that the matter would require further examination which would be made and the result would be intimated to him some time today. I hope the matter has been dealt with expeditiously. I am sure you will agree that in such matters we should generally be prepared to help the industry as much as we can and should not delay decisions. We

should also see that, wherever an industry is prepared to implement Government's programme to the best of its capacity, we interfere as little as possible, unless, of course, very vital considerations of policy are involved.

Both in regard to cotton and on the general questions which were settled at the last Advisory Committee meeting, I would be grateful if you would keep on reviewing the conditions from time to time and let me have a monthly progress report of action taken so that we can iron out difficulties and remove obstructions and impediments. I suggest that you impress upon your officers that, in these and other matters concerning increased production, there should be no red tape and no delay and their attitude should be constructive and helpful. This is particularly necessary at lower levels because they have to be constantly in touch with industry. You will notice from my broadcast yesterday that I have touched on this topic there also.

I need hardly assure you of my continued interest and help in all these matters. Whenever you experience any difficulty, either from any of the departments or from the industry and labour, you can always approach me and I shall give you every assistance in solving them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
15 November 1949

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of 14 November 1949. [Sec. S. Number 328.]

I am very glad to know that you have made such good progress in your discussions regarding cotton and that the conclusions reached were unanimous and most helpful. Those are also the lines on which my own mind is working and I would only beg of you and Syama Prasad to see that these arrangements are implemented with the least possible delay. Nothing is more disconcerting to commercial communities than delays and we must cut short all red tape and usual bureaucratic methods in dealing with such important problems where swiftness of action is the sine qua non of success. I hope you

will see that there are no unnecessary delays in our departments in regard to implementation of the decisions which we have taken.

I should like to keep in touch with the progress of the implementation of these schemes. I am writing to Syama Prasad to let me have a monthly progress report of the various measures and schemes we have put through during the last five weeks. I would be grateful if you would kindly do the same.

In case you have any difficulties on this or other similar questions, do please let me know at once and I shall try to iron them out, whether they are departmental or concern the attitude of business men, labour etc. I need hardly say that I shall always be at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy
Minister for Commerce
New Delhi

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New Delhi
17 November 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Thank you for your letter of 15 November enclosing a copy of your letter to Neogy. I was not called to the Cotton Conference which met a few days ago, although I had a subsequent discussion with Neogy, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and Mr. Birla regarding prices of Indian cotton.

I have gone through the proceedings of the conference which Neogy held. The Secretaries' Committee had considered them yesterday. The matter is going before the Economic Committee for final decision. We can certainly have a committee to advise Government regarding purchase of imported cotton. One important aspect of the matter however has to be kept in view. The quantity to be imported will depend on available foreign exchange. If the prices of imported cotton are excessively high, this will certainly reflect on the prices of cloth. If such cloth is largely exported outside India, at competitive prices, there will be no difficulty. If, however, such cloth is to be used for internal consumption, both quality of such production and prices will become important considerations. No doubt the committee will bear these factors in mind while suggesting any policy for adoption by Government.

The question of allocation of imported cotton is also of considerable importance. It is not suggested that Government will make purchases nor is it proposed that the committee will make purchases on its own account. Purchases will continue to be made by mills or through normal trade channels. All this will be done on licences to be issued by Government. It is not intended that the imported cotton should be monopolised by a few mills; it should be available for fair distribution amongst all mills which are capable of making the best use of such imported cotton. This is the reason why allocation cannot be left in the hands of a few individuals, unless the entire industry accepts such individuals as their chosen representatives.

The position regarding Indian cotton also is not free from difficulties. As you know, we have not controlled the prices of Kapas. The main reason for this is that it will become administratively difficult to do so as it will involve regulating the activities of thousands of producers in each area concerned. We, therefore, now control the price of cotton after it has been ginned. Many mills purchase Kapas at relatively high prices and get it ginned on their own account. Private merchants also are purchasing Kapas at high prices and trying to sell cotton at prices higher than the controlled prices. The only way in which we can keep the price of cotton regulated is to requisition cotton through Provincial Governments at intervals. This will automatically prevent merchants from purchasing Kapas at high prices. We have also to see that the available Indian cotton is distributed amongst the mills on a fair zonal basis so that a few selected mills may not corner the entire stuff. In order to secure a uniform administrative policy, a conference was held in Bombay which was attended by the representatives of the Provincial Governments concerned and of cotton interests; certain decisions have been reached which are now being implemented. But everything depends on the way in which such implementation is done by each of the Provincial Governments which act as the agents of the Central Government. Sometimes I find it extremely difficult to persuade some of the Provincial Governments to fall in line with our policy.

I am grateful to you for the active interest that you are taking securing an improvement in the economic conditions of the country. I am well aware of the needs for quick implementation of our decisions. In fact our officers are themselves constantly vigilant about this. We have to secure *some means for quicker implementation* of decisions on matters which depend on more

ministries than one. I am drawing up a separate note on this aspect of our work which I shall send to you and it may be discussed amongst the Ministers concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Shankar Niwas
20 Curzon Road
New Delhi
26 November 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am taking the liberty of sending to you herewith copy of a letter of date that I have written to the Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee regarding the short stocks of cotton in our mills and the apprehended closure of the same in the absence of some suitable arrangements to get the same for us. I hope you would please do the needful in the matter and oblige.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and with kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Shankar Lall

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for Home Affairs
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Shankar Niwas
20 Curzon Road
New Delhi
26 November 1949

My dear Dr. Mookerjee,

As I had written to you before, with the last cut in the price of the textiles, it seems difficult for us even to cover depreciation charges in our mills. The Managing Director had, therefore, decided to forego 25% of his commission. The officers are also responding favourably to this gesture of the

Managing Director. We are, however, faced with one other problem. We require, 2,000 bales of Desi and 1,000 bales of Staple cotton for our mills for the month of December and an additional 5,000 bales of Desi and 3,000 bales of Staple cotton for January 1950. It is impossible for us to get cotton at the ceiling price fixed by the Government. The current prices of these cottons are about Rs. 15 over and above the ceiling rates. It is a criminal offence to buy cotton above the ceiling price. We have got no black-market money to secretly pay the difference between the ceiling price and the market price. Even if it were permissible to purchase cotton at higher price, we would not have been able to do so as it would mean a very great loss running up to five figures per day to manufacture cloth from the high priced cotton and sell it at controlled rates. I would, therefore, request you to please ask your officer concerned to requisition the necessary quantity of cotton for us and send it to us early to avoid a shutdown of our mills, which will be very detrimental to the interests of our concern. I hope you will please do the needful in the matter at your very earliest convenience.

Thanking you ever so much in anticipation and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shankar Lal

The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee
New Delhi

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New Delhi
29 November 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

Sir Shankar Lal has sent me a copy of his letter dated 26 November 1949 addressed to you about the difficulty in securing a sufficient quota of cotton. It is a difficult problem and I should like to know what the position is.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi

New Delhi
30 November 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Please refer to your letter dated 29 November 1949. I have already looked into this matter and find that the fullest possible assistance is being given to the Delhi Cloth Mills by the Textile Commissioner and his Director of Cotton. The Purchasing Agent of the Mills is in personal touch with them. In the last six weeks, they have been helped to buy about 1,200 bales of Pakistan cotton and 1,300 bales of Indian cotton from the market within the ceiling prices. A special quota has also been allotted this month for 1,500 bales of Desi cotton from Madhya Bharat. The Textile Commissioner, Madhya Bharat, will render all assistance to the Purchasing Agent, who is proceeding to Indore. Madhya Bharat have promulgated a Kapas Control Order; cotton has begun to move, and it is anticipated that the Mills will have no difficulty in buying cotton with the local authorities' assistance.

2. The recent arrangements made for allocation of zonal quotas and canalising the movement accordingly will begin to make themselves felt in about ten days or a fortnight, and the Textile Commissioner anticipated that, at the end of this period, the cotton prices in CP & Berar will start falling to well below the ceilings. The Mills' Purchasing Agent has been asked to be ready to buy from this market about the middle of December, and before then the Director of Cotton will be visiting that area. The local officers are co-operating with our Textile Commissioner in this respect and there should be no difficulty in arranging for adequate supplies of CP & Berar cotton to the Mills.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister

New Delhi
6 December 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Madanmohan Ruia. I presume you have seen his interview in the Press. Next to jute, cotton is our important problem and I feel that we should be on our guard about it from now. There should be no delay in dealing with this problem; otherwise, with a tight supply position, our mills may have to undergo a serious crisis.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry and Supply
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Imperial Bank Bldgs.
Bank Street, Fort
Bombay
3 December 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

A press interview was sought from me recently regarding the acute shortage of cotton in India at present. I am enclosing a copy of the text of my interview that was given by me, and which appeared in most of the papers in Bombay yesterday.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding this to you because I know that you are very keenly interested in the development of the country's industry and commerce. The enclosed text will speak for itself. The only point which I wish to emphasise is that, unless Government takes a very drastic and immediate action, the cotton supply position will be very serious after September, and mills will have practically no cotton left till December when the new crop starts moving.

In my opinion, Government would be well advised to consider seriously two remedies which may help to improve the position to a fairly large

extent. First, Government should undertake the revision of the existing ceiling prices at which, you may perhaps be aware, no actual ready business can be transacted. It is just an artificial rate on paper which has no bearing on the ready market in Bombay or in the interior where cotton is grown. The other remedy I can think of is regarding the allowances that are being given to mills by the Textile Commissioner for various foreign cottons used for spinning different counts. These allowances are given on the basis of the ruling prices of different foreign cottons, and not on their merits, i.e. on their spinning value which is what is, needed at present. Under the present arrangement, mills are asked to use particular varieties of foreign cottons included in a particular group mentioned in the Textile Commissioner's Multipliers. This obviously restricts the freedom of the mills to buy any cotton they like even though it may be cheaper than the variety for which allowance is granted by the Textile Commissioner. As a concrete instance about allowances mentioned in my enclosed note, I have to point out that last year half of the Pakistan cotton quota, viz. $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakh bales lapsed because no proper and adequate allowances for the use of Pakistan cotton were announced beforehand or after, but only an assurance was given to us by the Textile Commissioner that special allowance would be granted at his discretion for the exclusive use of Pakistan cotton. This definitely was not an adequate arrangement from the point of view of mills who were expected to import cotton, the allowance for the use of which was not made known to them. When allowances for the use of other foreign varieties could be decided beforehand, I do not see why a similar procedure could not be followed in the case of Pakistan cotton. This, according to me, has deprived India of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakh bales of very valuable cotton which would have been of immense value to the mills this year. The same is the position in respect of certain other varieties of foreign cottons even today. I have at some length elaborated this point in the attached text, which I hope will meet with your consideration. Should you, however, require any further details on any of the points mentioned, I shall be very glad to furnish on hearing from you.

I hope you are keeping good health, and will pardon my troubling you with this matter. I have specially written this to you since I learn that you are already concerned over the growing shortage of raw cotton in the country. I do trust that you will persuade Government to take immediate measures to overcome what obviously threatens to be a very desperate position in the matter of cotton supplies to mills.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Madanmohan Ruia

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

CHAPTER XI
STATES' ADMINISTRATION

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16, Constitution House
New Delhi
13 January 1949

My dear Pujya Sardar Sahib,

The Ministry of States has always made it clear to me and to other Prime Ministers of States Unions in conferences that the purpose of deputing civilians in the Unions of States and the appointment of Advisers to such Unions was simply to help the Congress Governments in States Unions to organise and establish stable administration during the interim period. In Vindhya Pradesh things started with better prospects when Mr. N. B. Bonarjee took charge [as] Regional Commissioner cum Adviser at Rewa. For some time he showed signs of co-operation and continued to be helpful but for one reason or the other there had been a sudden change in him. Instead of offering helpful advice he began to criticise the Government and always tried to find fault with us and to make complaints to the Ministry of States.

2. The reasons for the changed attitude in the Adviser were petty and personal as far as I can see through. The dispute was regarding the boarding charges to be paid to Government for the period before he could make his own arrangement. He refused to make full payment and nearly Rs. 200 had to be remitted although the charges were actual and reasonable. The other dispute was with regard to the supply of furniture to him, which I settled amicably. These incidents seem to have irritated him but the chief reason why he took to destructive criticisms of the Government and stopped tendering helpful advice was to convince the Ministry of States that the interim Government was a failure and there were sufficient reasons to make the Vindhya Pradesh a centrally-administered area and his behaviour and attitude did betray his fond hopes that he might be placed at the helm of affairs as an administrator. The Adviser therefore joined hands with Mr. Grewal who had already been trying to make

extent. First, Government should undertake the revision of the existing ceiling prices at which, you may perhaps be aware, no actual ready business can be transacted. It is just an artificial rate on paper which has no bearing on the ready market in Bombay or in the interior where cotton is grown. The other remedy I can think of is regarding the allowances that are being given to mills by the Textile Commissioner for various foreign cottons used for spinning different counts. These allowances are given on the basis of the ruling prices of different foreign cottons, and not on their merits, i.e. on their spinning value which is what is, needed at present. Under the present arrangement, mills are asked to use particular varieties of foreign cottons included in a particular group mentioned in the Textile Commissioner's Multipliers. This obviously restricts the freedom of the mills to buy any cotton they like even though it may be cheaper than the variety for which allowance is granted by the Textile Commissioner. As a concrete instance about allowances mentioned in my enclosed note, I have to point out that last year half of the Pakistan cotton quota, viz. $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakh bales lapsed because no proper and adequate allowances for the use of Pakistan cotton were announced beforehand or after, but only an assurance was given to us by the Textile Commissioner that special allowance would be granted at his discretion for the exclusive use of Pakistan cotton. This definitely was not an adequate arrangement from the point of view of mills who were expected to import cotton, the allowance for the use of which was not made known to them. When allowances for the use of other foreign varieties could be decided beforehand, I do not see why a similar procedure could not be followed in the case of Pakistan cotton. This, according to me, has deprived India of $3\frac{1}{4}$ lakh bales of very valuable cotton which would have been of immense value to the mills this year. The same is the position in respect of certain other varieties of foreign cottons even today. I have at some length elaborated this point in the attached text, which I hope will meet with your consideration. Should you, however, require any further details on any of the points mentioned, I shall be very glad to furnish on hearing from you.

I hope you are keeping good health, and will pardon my troubling you with this matter. I have specially written this to you since I learn that you are already concerned over the growing shortage of raw cotton in the country. I do trust that you will persuade Government to take immediate measures to overcome what obviously threatens to be a very desperate position in the matter of cotton supplies to mills.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Madanmohan Ruia

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Camp Bardoi
18 January 1949

My dear Captain Sahib,

I have gone through your letters of 12 and 13 January 1949 regarding the Council of Rulers and your complaint against Mr. N. B. Bonarjee.

2. As regards the first matter, I have gone through the documents and I still fail to find any evidence in support of your contention that the whole thing was manoeuvred by Mr. Bonarjee. In fact, there is nothing in the agenda to show that the question of the Ministry was to be considered at all and our information indicates that a draft resolution was, in fact, considered at a later stage, through the instrumentality of a person who was in no way connected with the Regional Commissioner and that draft resolution was in favour of the Ministry. I am afraid I see no evidence in the enclosures to indicate that there was any attempt to create misunderstanding between the rulers and the Government and to secure any vote of censure on the Government. From your own statement it seems that you and your Industries Minister and not the Regional Commissioner were taken into confidence by the Council of Rulers. I cannot, therefore, see how you can maintain a charge that the Regional Commissioner had anything to do with it.

3. As regards your second letter, I am afraid the dispute on the question of charges for stay in the guest house and petrol between your Government and N. B. Bonarjee seems to be of a bona fide nature. The contentions which he has advanced in support of his stand in regard to this dispute are prima facie sustainable and I do not think that any blame could attach to him on these points.

4. In your letter you have ascribed the criticism which N. B. Bonarjee has had to make of your administration due to his personal disputes. I am afraid the criticism of the Vindhya Pradesh administration has come from so many different quarters and from so many different sources that any attempt to find any individualistic explanation for such criticism is not likely to succeed or, at least, it will not be decisive. You do not seem to be

the Congress administration in Bundelkhand a failure. This combination further emboldened Mr. Bonarjee to go against the Government and it may also be pointed out that he tried to array the rulers against the Government.

3. The following observations and copies of documents enclosed will, I hope, support the view expressed above:

(1) Mr. Bonarjee criticises the administration with a pessimistic view, declares it to be chaotic and observes the possibility of a complete breakdown. He has also remarked that there was non-co-operation in the Vindhya Pradesh secretariat, but there is no basis for this remark which creates a feeling of hatred and contempt amongst the staff. A copy of extracts from his notes dated 29 November and 2 December 1948 is enclosed. The notes of the Adviser are usually not happily worded and it is wrong to observe that conditions in Vindhya Pradesh are chaotic when the administration has considerably improved and law and order has been fully established.

(2) In connection with his bill for the cost of petrol, he observes that the distances travelled by him are wrongly entered and he has not made the full payment. A copy of this letter is attached.

(3) There is evidence to show that Mr. Bonarjee considers himself to be the head of the Vindhya Pradesh administration, e.g. he directed various heads of departments to carry out his direct orders reminding them of course of the importance and powers of an Adviser cum Regional Commissioner. A copy of his order dated 30 November 1948 is enclosed.

(4) In order to appreciate this attitude towards the Congress Ministry in general one has only to refer to his notes as Chief Secretary, UP Government, against the Pant Ministry. These notes somehow found place in the Press also and they appeared in the Pioneer.

(5) In these circumstances it is for your honour to decide the steps to be taken in the matter so that the Government may run smoothly.

Yours sincerely,
Awadhesh Pratap Singh
Prime Minister .
[Vindhya Pradesh Union]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

be altered so lightly then the Congress would come to an end. He has promised to write to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya about this affair. I have given him all the relevant papers with an explanatory notes.

Regarding the letter of Lalaram Bajpai in which he threatened to create trouble if he was not taken into the Vindhya Pradesh Cabinet, Maulana Sahib expressed his regret and said that such people should not have been allowed to have anything to do with the Congress organisation.

According to Dr. Pattabhi's award new elections will start from the 18th. If the elections are held the matter may become rather complicated. Therefore, if you kindly think it necessary, you may be pleased to advise Doctor Sahib to stay the execution of his award till the Working Committee has considered over it.

I am enclosing a copy of the Hindi letter written by Lalaram Bajpai which had been referred to above. Other relevant papers were given to you on the 11th personally by me.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Narmada Prasad Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel

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Camp 6, King Edward Road
New Delhi
16 January 1949

Pujya Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

In continuation of my letter of 14 January. I am sending herewith copies of two telegrams addressed to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. These copies will clarify the constitutional point raised by Dr. Pattabhi.

Yours sincerely,
Narmada Prasad Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

aware of the fact that Mr. Bonarjee himself thought some time ago that your Ministry, if given a reasonable chance, might be able to stand the rot. This attitude is quite inconsistent with your charge that the "chief reason why he took to destructive criticism of Government and stopped rendering helpful advice was to convince the Ministry of States that the interim Government was a failure etc."

5. I should not like to conceal from you that I am very seriously concerned over the developments in Vindhya Pradesh administration, and particularly the relations between the official set-up there and the Government. Complaints or counter-complaints cannot conceal facts for long or cloud the issues for any considerable length of time. I have already had to intervene in regard to the administration of the Indian State forces after the attempts of the Military Adviser-in-Chief to settle the problem with H.H. the Raj Pramukh and yourself have proved ineffective. On my return to Delhi I propose to look into the whole question of civil administration in Vindhya Pradesh and then settle a plan of action.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singhji
Prime Minister, Vindhya Pradesh Union
Rewa

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Camp 6, King Edward Road
New Delhi
14 January 1949

Pujya Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

This is just to inform you of the result of our interview with the Hon'ble Jenab Maulana Sahib [Abul Kalam Azad].

Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singh and myself met him yesterday at his residence and explained to him the Vindhya Pradesh PCC disputes. He showed a very keen interest and listened to every detail of the case. In the end he was good enough to observe that when Dr. Rajendra Prasadji had put his signature on a compromise reached between parties concerned it became final and nobody could alter it without the consent of the parties concerned. He further remarked that if the Congress decisions were to



ENCLOSURE I
TELEGRAM TO DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

New Delhi

YOUR INSISTENCE ON INCLUDING ALL CONGRESS DELEGATES IN VINDHYAPRADESH PCC PURSUANCE WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION CONSTITUTIONALLY NOT CORRECT. PLEASE REFER THE RESOLUTION DATED 8 SEPTEMBER 1948 ON CONGRESS ORGANISATION IN STATES.

THREE OF WHICH EXEMPTS THOSE PROVINCES WHERE PCCS HAVE BEEN FORMED ON BASIS OF AWARD. VINDHYA PRADESH PCC WAS FORMED BY AWARD OF RASHTRAPATI THEREFORE RULE FOR INCLUDING MEERUT CONGRESS DELEGATES IN PCC NOT APPLICABLE. AFTER THIS RESOLUTION JUGALKISHOREJI'S LETTER DATED NINTH SEPTEMBER MAKES POSITION CLEAR. DR. RAJENDRAPRASADJI'S LETTER DATED 18 OCTOBER TO JUGALKISHOREJI LEAVES NO AMBIGUITY WHEN NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARTIES. MOREOVER YOUR PROPOSED PCC ITSELF ARBITRARY AS ALREADY WIRED. DO KINDLY POSTPONE HOLDING ELECTIONS AND THUS PREVENT COMPLICATIONS AND CONFUSION.

NARMADAPRASAD SINGH

ENCLOSURE II
TELEGRAM TO DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
RE : VINDHYA PRADESH PCC DISPUTE

14 January 1949

PLEASE REFER APPEAL AGAINST YOUR AWARD AND PRAYER TO STAY BUNDELKHAND PCC MEMBERS ELECTIONS. WHILE EMPHASISING THAT PILANI AWARD BASED ON MUTUAL AGREEMENT CANNOT BE ALTERED WITHOUT OUR CONSENT FOLLOWING GLARING UNCONSTITUTIONAL THINGS HAPPENING. KAMALNABHSINGH KESHAVPRASADSINGH BALDEOSINGH RAGHUNATHSINGH AND LALMANSINGH WHO WERE NEITHER GWALIOR SESSION DELEGATES NOR MEERUT CONGRESS DELEGATES NOR WERE ELECTED PCC MEMBERS ACCORDING TO DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S AWARD HAVE BEEN ARBITRARILY INCLUDED IN BUNDELKHAND PCC MEMBERS WHEREAS FOUR ELECTED PCC MEMBERS NAMELY PANCHAMLAL GOKUL MAHAJIY PARAMLAL JAIN AND SWAMIPRASAD WRONGLY EXCLUDED. BESIDES FOUR NAMELY RAMNARAIN KHARE RAMGOPAL LAHARIA RANJITSINGH AND CHATURBHUI PATHAK ELECTED TO FILL IN GWALIOR DELEGATES VACANCIES WHO WERE DROPPED BY PILANI COMPROMISE BUT WHO HAVE NOW BECOME AUTOMATICALLY GWALIOR DELEGATES BY LAPSE OF PILANI COMPROMISE HAVE ALSO BEEN EXCLUDED FROM PROPOSED 24.

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TELEGRAM

Rewa
21 January 1918

Hon'ble Sanjar Vallabhbhai Patel
Rajkot

FOLLOWING WIRE SENT TO DR. PATTABHIBHAI REPEATED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND KIND INTERVENTION. BEGINS REGRET YOUR DELHI AWARD HAS CREATED GREAT CONFUSION DISTURBING CONGRESS SMOOTH WORKING. WHEN CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE SUGGESTED CHANGE IN VINDHYAPRADESH PCC ON DOCTOR RAJENDRA PRASADJI'S APPROVAL AND LATTER ADVISED CHANGE BY MUTUAL CONSENT OF PARTIES CONCERNED YOU SHOULD KINDLY UPHOLD PILANI DECISION WHEN NO AGREEMENT BETWEEN US POSSIBLE. INDIVIDUALS WHO TILL RECENTLY OPPOSED CONGRESS PRESENT LEADERSHIP SHOULD NOT BE REWARDED FOR THEIR DISLOYALTY TO CONGRESS. IN SPITE OF THEIR ASSURANCE BEFORE YOU THEY ARE ABUSING OLD RESPECTABLE CONGRESSMEN AND PRESENT CONGRESS MINISTRY AND OPENLY ADVOCATING CHANGE OF MINISTRY. SURPRISING IF SUCH MEN GET SUPPORT FROM OUR LEADERS, APART FROM OUR DISAGREEMENT REGARDING YOUR PROPOSAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS EVEN COMPOSITION OF BUNDELKHAND DCC UNCONSTITUTIONAL ON YOUR OWN BASIS. IT NEITHER CONSIST OF GWALIOR DELEGATES NOR ELECTED PCC MEMBERS FROM BUNDELKHAND SIDE AGAINST WHOSE ELECTIONS THERE HAS BEEN NO ELECTION PETITION. FOUR MEN NAMELY PANCHAMLAL GOKUL MAHAJIY PARAMLAL JAIN AND SWAMI PRASAD BELONGING TO MANNULAL GOPALSARAN PARTY WERE CUNNINGLY DROPPED FROM THEIR LIST OF 24 JUST TO SHOW THAT THEY WERE NOT THEIR PARTYMEN AND FIVE MEN WHO WERE NEITHER GWALIOR DELEGATES NOR MEERUT CONGRESS DELEGATES NOR ELECTED PCC MEMBERS WERE INCLUDED THEIR NAMES BEING LALLASINGH KAMALNABH SINGH KESHAUPRASAD SINGH BALDEO SINGH RAGHNATH SINGH AND LALNAN SINGH ALL OF NAGOD. FOUR GWALIOR DELEGATES DROPPED OUT ACCORDING PILANI COMPROMISE WERE NOT INCLUDED AMONG 24. AFTER LAPSE OF PILANI COMPROMISE FAIRNESS AND HONESTY REQUIRED THEIR INCLUSION AMONG 24. THEN THEIR DULY ELECTED CONGRESS DELEGATES HAVE BEEN ARBITRARILY REMOVED FROM NEW PROPOSED PCC. IF THREE DELEGATES CAN BE OUT OF PCC BY

and the Praja Mandal committees affiliated to the AISP Conference, it was decided from the very beginning that the Meerut Congress delegates would not be members of this new PCC. The two district Congress committees, namely, Rewa and Bundelkhand, were to elect 18 members each to their PCC. There was no objection from any side against the exclusion of Meerut Congress delegates from the PCC. Even the Meerut Congress delegates had to be elected to the PCC and only those of them who got elected from their respective DCCs became members of the PCC.

On or about 4 October, Shri Acharya Jugalkishoreji ordered—when the elections to the PCC were over—that the Meerut Congress delegates also would be members of the RCG. This order was set aside by Dr. Rajendra Prasadji mainly on the ground that the compromise could not be disturbed, and no new formula could be introduced after the elections were over.

In November last just before the Jaipur session a proposal to reconstitute the Vindhya Pradesh PCC was put up in the Working Committee, who decided that there could be no change in the Vindhya Pradesh PCC without the consent of the then Rashtrapati Dr. Rajendra Prasadji, who on reference opined that the existing arrangement should only be modified by a mutual agreement among the parties concerned.

When we met Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya on the 8th instant, we found that he was rather keen to include all those Meerut Congress delegates in the Vindhya Pradesh PCC who were not elected to it in October. We tried our level best to effect a compromise but ultimately we failed as all the parties concerned could not evolve any agreed solution.

We were, however, surprised to know that the Working Committee was informed that there was an agreement between all the parties concerned. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh's letters dated 10-1-1949 to the President and the General Secretary, Congress, in the afternoon of 10 January are clear on this point. Their copies are attached [herewith] for your kind perusal.

We thought that under the circumstances the matter would go up before the Working Committee, but on the 11th morning when we went to Dr. Pattabhi we were informed by him that he had already given his award.

We feel that his award is against the decision of the Working Committee and also against the advice of Dr. Rajendra Prasadji and, therefore, we request you to kindly intervene in the matter.

Copies of his decision and the appeal against it submitted to the Working Committee by the aggrieved parties are enclosed herein.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

Yours sincerely,

Awadhesh Pratap Singh
Narmada Prasad Singh

asking me to stop its issue as it was not in accordance with his wishes. I felt and still feel that attitude was not correct on his part. Having told me to treat this as a decision and not as a settlement, he was not justified in going back upon it, particularly as he told me that he could not treat it as a settlement because he could not commend it as such to his followers. When his request was not complied with and when I gave it as a decision, as desired, there should have been no trouble. After all this, to take back things to the bottom of the ladder, is somewhat unbusiness-like. So far, however, beyond the cooption of the eleven members, nothing has taken place. The election of the office-bearers has not been proceeded with and I did not fix any date. I wanted the other side to meet me after my return. Yesterday I received a telegram from Sardar N. P. Singhji who is very friendly with me and whose friendship I warmly reciprocate, asking me not to proceed till I got a letter that he [had] posted. I have not got the letter today but hope to get it tomorrow.

In any case, I have no likes or dislikes in the matter and when you suggest that further progress may be held over till the Working Committee should have an opportunity for a clarification, I shall gladly do so and would like this burden to be borne by the fuller body which normally it should not have been burdened with.

Yours sincerely,
B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

COPY OF LETTER DATED 11 JANUARY ADDRESSED TO A FRIEND

Whatever arrangements were embodied in the decision were agreed to by both sides—otherwise there was no point in my seeking the Working Committee's permission for raising the strength to 70 from 36. As we dissolved on the previous day 10th after every item was scrutinised in the composition of the 35 on either side and when I wanted the matter to go as a settlement between themselves Sardar N. P. Singh requested that the other side should in, coopting the eleven, pick the eleven from out of his own (Sardar's) party as there happened to be 14 men belonging to the Bundelkhand party in the 35 Bhagelkhand group. And when the other side demurred, he (the Sardar) said: "In that case let the matter go as your decision, not as our settlement." He did agree to the matter going as my decision, he said, because

YOUR AWARD WHY NOT GREATER NUMBER CAN BE OUT OF PCC BY DOCTOR RAJENDRA PRASAD AWARD BASED ON MUTUAL AGREEMENT? COMPROMISE MADE IN RASHTRAPATI'S PRESENCE AND SIGNED BY HIM SHOULD NOT BE SO LIGHTLY DISTURBED. THREE DC COMMITTEES NAMELY PANNA CHHATAR DATIA COMPROMISING THREEFOURTH POPULATION AREA BUNDELKHAND SIDE HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED NO CONFIDENCE IN MESSRS MUNNALAL GOPALSARAN SINGH AND LALARAM BAJPAI. WHY SHOULD THEREFORE SUCH CONGRESSMEN WHO HAVE NO FOLLOWING BE THRUST UPON US? PRAY FIRST BECAUSE THERE IS NO COMPROMISE SECONDLY YOUR AWARD AGAINST YOUR OWN PRINCIPLE DO KINDLY UPHOLD PILANI AWARD. BANSPATI SINGH, RAJIVALOCHAND SINGH, RAMLALSARAN PRASAD, RAMPRASAD SINGH, SATYARAJ SINGH, PRAKASHNARAIN, SHEOPRASAD DUBE, SATYADEO CHINTAMANI, AVADHSARAN SHARMA, KERAN SINGH MOHAN SINGH, KRISHNADAS AWASTHI, SAJAN SINGH, SHYAMDULARE PRASAD, BHAIYALAL

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New Delhi
29 January 1949

Dear Sardarji,

Your kind note of 16 January to me regarding Bundelkhand affairs appears to have been received here on the 21st instant, but as I was absent then, I have seen it just now on my return from Madras and I hasten to reply to you.

I am enclosing herewith by way of explanation a letter that I have written to a friend the very day or the next day after the settlement between the two parties in Vindhya Pradesh took place. From that letter, which was a record of events then and there, it will be seen that Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh had agreed to the arrangement and it was only after he had agreed to it that I gave trouble to the Working Committee to sanction about 70 members in place of 36. Otherwise, it was a fruitless effort and unnecessary innovation. But after Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh had agreed to this arrangement, he wanted to add a condition that the eleven members to be taken anew by the other side should be from his own (Sardar's) party. He was so fair as to say that if this could not be done, the thing must go as my decision and not as a settlement between parties. Accordingly I issued the decision to the parties but the next evening, perhaps before he received a copy of the decision, he sent me a letter

Pradesh PCC. The decision was based on a written compromise between the parties in Vindhya Pradesh. The decision has now been changed by the present President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, without an agreement between the parties concerned. We pray that Dr. Rajendra Babu's decision should not be changed. If it is necessary to change, it should be done by an agreement between the parties.

(2) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's decision puts such persons in majority who have been hobnobbing with the rulers, particularly Shri Gulab Singh of Rewa. Socialists and Communists have been opposing the Congress and the Congress Government openly in public meetings. The document of one of them is enclosed herein. This gentleman is also a member of the PCC.

(3) Our appeal against the decision of the President is pending in the Working Committee but it is heard that the President is going to implement his decision without referring our appeal to the Working Committee.

We pray, therefore, that [you] kindly use your influence to have our appeal referred to the Working Committee and decided in a way which proves beneficial to the Congress organisation in Vindhya Pradesh. Till the appeal is finally disposed of by the Working Committee, the execution of the President's decision [should] be stayed.

Yours sincerely,

- *1. Banshpati Singh
President, PCC
2. Babu Ram Chaturvedi
Member, AICC
3. Ram Krishna Varma
Member, PCC Working Committee
& Vice-President, Bundelkhand D.C.
4. Jung Bahadur Singh
Member, Provincial Election Committee
5. Sitaram Rusia
Member, Provincial Election Committee
6. Illegible
Member, AICC
7. Mohan Singh Karchuli
Member,*AICC

* All these signatures are in Nagari script.

he had to answer his lieutenants. And when I got the Working Committee's permission with difficulty and finalised the matter and communicated the final decision to some of the parties on the 10th itself, though I distributed the typed copies on the 11th. I got a letter from the Sardar on the 10th night at 8 p.m. on my return home demurring to the decision. This is unfair. The Sardar cannot deny these facts. Perhaps his lieutenants found fault with him on one score or another and he hastens to file an appeal to the Working Committee and a petition for a stay order. There is nothing to stay for if the other side coopts they will only complete their 35 as Sardar has his 35. I have made no arrangement for office-bearers yet. If he wins the appeal, the whole thing will go and he loses nothing by the other side completing their full strength.

Two other points require to be mentioned, Capt. Awadhesh Pratap, premier, came to me on the night of the 10th and asked me to secure 5 and 6 out of the eleven. I promised to work for it.

Secondly, I told the other party: "Do you want to break the Ministry as Sardar is ready to resign?" "No" was the answer. "Do you want one or two places? Sardar is willing to accommodate." "No" was the answer. Then I said, "You neither assume the responsibility nor offer co-operation. Then you want to oppose and embarrass." "No" was the answer. "We solemnly in your presence declare that we shall never oppose the Ministry." Both sides were worried because of the coming elections on the choice of candidates. I assured them that new bodies were coming and quoted before its publication the Working Committee's resolution on re-organisation. They saw it confirmed in the Press and were glad.

Yours sincerely,
B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

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4 February 1949

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Member, Congress Working Committee
New Delhi

Sir,

We want to bring to your kind notice the following facts about the Vindhya Pradesh PCC dispute with a request that [you] kindly take interest in the PCC affair of Vindhya Pradesh with a view to doing justice to Congress workers and strengthen the Congress organisation of Vindhya Pradesh.

(1) About four months back Dr. Rajendra Prasadji, the then Congress President decided about the formation of the Vindhya

PS.

Any appointment may kindly be communicated to the residence of HM (Communications).

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55, Constitution House
New Delhi
13 April 1949

Pujya Sardar Sahib,

I beg to submit the following explanations to the various charges brought against me by the four Ministers of my Cabinet. They are as follows:

1. Normally Cabinet meetings are held once a week, i.e. on Thursday, but under emergent conditions such meetings can be held more than once a week. The Ministers knowing full well this rule, often absent themselves with the result that the Cabinet meetings have to be postponed sine die. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh has himself admitted that the Bundelkhand Ministers are generally absent but my point is that even other Ministers absent-ed themselves occasionally from headquarters. It is after great difficulty that their presence is secured when it becomes possible to hold Cabinet meetings. During such meetings naturally the agenda is so heavy that the Cabinet sittings have perforce to be prolonged for days in order to dispose of this heavy agenda.
2. Except under an emergency or on the request of a Minister, the scheduled Cabinet meetings were never cancelled. Whenever they were cancelled for reasons stated above, the Ministers were duly informed.
3. On the advice of the Adviser to the Vindhya Pradesh Government that the Board of Revenue should be established as soon as possible it was taken up in the Cabinet and passed. The Hon'ble Revenue Minister, although present in Rewa, did not attend the Cabinet meeting. Afterwards he raised an objection to it but upon my explaining the matter to him, he willingly withdrew his objection on this point.
4. It is true that the Cabinet first decided to nationalise transport but on the advice of Mr. Bonarjee, Adviser, this was dropped. It was further decided that in order to increase the revenue of the State, bus-owners should be taxed on the basis of mileage covered by a bus. In the beginning of course I charged two annas per mile

New Delhi
5 April 1949

To
The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Respected Sir,

We Congressmen of Panna, Chhatarpur, Tikamgarh, Datia and Charkhari of Bundelkhand came here in connection with our Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee disputes. Naturally we are eager to offer personally our heartiest congratulations to you on your providential escape.

On arrival here we have learnt about proposals and counter-proposals for merging of Vindhya Pradesh in CP or UP. We understand that a group of Congressmen of Rewa and Charkhari have already seen you in this connection. We are also anxious to place our views before you and to know your policies in this connection. We shall be, therefore, exceedingly grateful if you kindly grant us as well a few minutes' interview.

Yours sincerely,

1. Biharilal Vishwakarma,
President, DCC & Member, PCC
2. Ram Krishna Varma,
Vice-President, DCC
3. Prem Narain Khare,
Member, PCC (VP) &
Editor, Vindhya Bani
4. Jung Bahadur Singh,
Member, PCC and Member,
Election Committee
5. Shiva Narain Khare,
Member, PCC (VP) Member,
Election Committee
6. Ram Gopal Laharia, Member, PCC
7. Sitaram Rusia,
Member, PCC (VP),
Member, Election Committee

PS.

Any appointment may kindly be communicated to the residence of HM (Communications).

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55, Constitution House
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4. It is true that the Cabinet first decided to nationalise transport but on the advice of Mr. Bonarjee, Adviser, this was dropped. It was further decided that in order to increase the revenue of the State, bus-owners should be taxed on the basis of mileage covered by a bus. In the beginning of course I charged two annas per mile

from the bus-owners, but later on when our petrol quota was increased, I decided to run more lorries for the convenience of the public and in this connection roads were classified into three classes, namely, A, B, and C class road. Pucca roads were A class roads; kachha and pucca roads known as B class, while completely kachha roads were C class roads. The taxes for plying lorries on these roads were 4, 3 and 2 annas per mile respectively. Applications were invited upon which bus-owners competed with one another in offering higher rates to the extent of 4 annas per mile. In the end all agreed to pay according to the rates noted above, and so they were allotted different roads within the province. As regards the old contractors, a choice was given to them either to ply their existing lorries on the old rates and in case they wanted to ply additional lorries they will have to pay according to the new rates to which the majority of bus contractors agreed. It may be mentioned here that while last year the income from transport was less than a lakh, this year it has risen to 5 lakhs without increasing the fare, rather in some cases the lorry fare has been reduced in order to introduce uniformity. It may also be pointed out that the efficiency of transport services has also increased thereby.

5. The question of paying gratuity and pensions to the retrenched public servants was a pressing one and delay caused in the same brought forth strong criticism and popular condemnation. The task was therefore entrusted to the Finance Minister but he too could not finish it for months. When I came to Delhi in the last week of January, Shri V. P. Menon pointed out to me the unreasonable delay being made in settling this matter. I, therefore, authorised the Industries Minister from Delhi to take up the matter seriously. He, therefore, took up the matter and settled a large number of cases in this connection. This matter was not in the portfolio of the Finance Minister, and hence there is no point in saying that the Finance Minister was bypassed. It is, moreover, wrong to say that no provision was [made] in this year's budget. In fact provision had been made in the budget but on finding that it was not sufficient, the Finance Minister was asked to move the Cabinet for supplementary grants. It may be mentioned here that up to this time no complaint has been received about injustice or impropriety of the settlement arrived at. The protest made by the Finance Minister is in the Cabinet agenda for consideration but it could not be taken up as the Ministers were in haste for reaching Delhi, and in spite of my repeated requests to finish the agenda, they left the Cabinet.

6. The construction of this road had been sanctioned during the Premiership of Mr. T. C. S. Jayaratnam. This road branches off from the main road to the Hindi Middle School of Rampur, a distance of hardly about 2 furlongs. It is entirely wrong to say that the road has been constructed to reach my house. I never issued any order for the construction of this road to the Chief Engineer, The PWD. Minister never drew my attention towards this particular road. He might have raised the usual objection that one Minister need not interfere with the portfolio of the other Minister, which has already been ordered to be included in the agenda of the Cabinet.

7. I never made any announcement about the abolition of customs duties in the province. I only once said in a meeting at Tikamgarh that I shall try to abolish the customs duty, but the financial implications involved in the abolition was a great obstacle, the income being about Rs. 47 lakhs a year. The Cabinet also accepted it in principle, but when and how it was to be implemented was postponed for a later date. The reference to the agitation made by the opposite party began from the high-handedness and unpopularity of Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh himself. The move for the abolition of customs has been existing ever since the creation of Vindhya Pradesh, which was brought to the notice of the State Ministry by me several times. Several causes may be pointed out for the agitation but the real cause of the agitation was the inclusion of Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh in the Cabinet which has been expressed on many occasions from the Press and platform by the people, which grew in intensity on account of his unpopular actions e.g., charging Rs. 23/9/- per cent over ex-mill rates, whereas it ought to have been within 20 per cent including customs duties, as the Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Supplies, himself told me. It is not clear whom he refers to as the ring leader. This much may be made clear that in connection with the PCC dispute almost all important leaders of both the groups are present in Delhi, and often came to see me in the Constitution House.

8. In order to effect economy in the departments which were over-spending, I asked the Finance Department to make suggestions for making retrenchments in these departments. The expenditure of the Food and Civil Supplies Department was hardly a lakh of rupees, but now it is about 6 lakhs of rupees. This department is full of new employees who should not have been appointed unless all the retrenched State employees had been absorbed. Favouritism and nepotism were shown in making appointments in this

department. It is felt by all, especially the Adviser who wrote to me several times, to run this department with the help of the Revenue Department, and other allied departments, and only to maintain a central organisation to co-ordinate the activities of the several departments that were asked to co-operate in this work. It being a sound advice was accepted by me. This is an open secret that the Food and Civil Supplies Department being temporary and over-staffed, may at any time have to undergo a drastic curtailment. The feeling, therefore, of demoralisation referred to has always been present amongst the incumbents of this department and has no bearing upon my intentions of making curtailments in this department. It may be pointed out that all the three departments referred to in this paragraph are all in the portfolio of Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh, and hence his grave concern at the proposal of retrenchment in these departments, which may throw out of employment some of his favourites and friends. In effecting economy in the Agriculture Department my idea was to start B.Sc. Agricultural classes in Rewa out of the savings made from it, so that real improvement in agriculture could be made. This would also have helped the States to save the huge amount which was spent every year in sending students for agriculture training outside the province.

9. I have never made any malicious campaign of lies against any of my colleagues, but have always reminded them of their sacred duties towards the people and the State. I have always pointed out to them their omissions and commissions in administrative affairs whenever they cared to see me. I have also advised them to be honest and have often told them that Caesar's wife should not only be chaste but should be above suspicion. On the other hand, I may point out that these colleagues of mine had all along been busy in conspiring against me and manoeuvring to pass no-confidence resolution by a defunct body called telegraphically at New Delhi without due notice, which was unconstitutional as declared by the Congress President. None of them ever asked me to bring any charges either before the Cabinet or the States Ministry. As regards the charges against them, it is sufficient to note that they are evident from the speeches and a large number of representations made by the people.

10. In spite of my advice not to go to Panna and other places of Bundelkhand, Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh encouraged by the Deputy Premier, Babu Kamtaprasad Saxena, went to Panna to receive a welcome address and purse. There he had to face a huge demonstration of black flags. Ultimately, a tussle ensued

between the people and police ending in the throwing of brick-bats and use of lathi charge. To protest against this a procession was taken out on the 23rd in Rewa, and a meeting was also held the same evening. I left Rewa on the morning of the 24th before I received the report of the previous day's speeches. I came back on the night of the 25th and again started for Nagpur on the morning of the 26th, and returned on the night of the 27th. On the 28th after my return from Nagpur, I got the report of what had happened on 23 and 26 March. The procession and speeches of 23 March were objectionable but the speeches and procession of 26 March were specially directed against me and which I believe to have been engineered by Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh were much more objectionable and obscene. Behind these processions were the hands of some important public men including Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh and so I did not think it advisable to take any action against those men because the meeting of the Working Committee of the AICC was to be held on 5 April when the question of Vindhya Pradesh PCC had to be decided. However, Section 144 was promulgated in Rewa on 29 March to maintain peace and order, and speeches and police reports had been, in the meantime, sent to the Legal Remembrancer for opinion. But no opinion was sought about Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh as he is member of the Cabinet. Any person or group of persons who may have been his greatest friends in the past, if ever differs from him is always accused of belonging to the Gulab Singh party by Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh. But he forgets when he himself employs Gulab Singh's party men as his agents in running down his opponents.

11. I deny this charge. Rather I would say that Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh excels in this act of playing one against the other inside and outside the Cabinet.

12. It is a malicious propaganda to say that I have been making pacts with the opposite party since September last. In fact scores of persons belonging to the opposite group have been arrested and challaned which in itself is sufficient to disprove this charge. I may make it clear that I have no party but it was Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh who along with other groups had accepted me as their leader. Even the representatives of the PCC which replaced the old one have shown full confidence in me before Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself.

13. Notes of the Adviser are always circulated to the Ministers by the Adviser direct but in important cases the Ministers

concerned are informed by the Chief Secretary. As regards the instructions from the State Ministry, they are always communicated to the Ministers concerned. Important matters are communicated to the Ministers in the Cabinet meetings. Here it may be noted that Sardar Narmada Prasad has adopted a peculiar procedure by having direct communication with the Central Government, and not even keeping the Premier informed about these correspondence.

14. Things which deserve to be kept secret are never revealed by me to any one. This is rather done by other Ministers, e.g. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh submitted a scheme for the abolition of zamindari but before it was considered by the Cabinet, he published those proposals and circulated them widely in the whole of Vindhya Pradesh. This he did with a view to show that other Ministers were reactionaries. Not only this, he rather made a propaganda that a two annas remission would be granted to the peasants though he knew that the Adviser or the Cabinet [was] not in favour of the scheme. Propaganda was made in such a scandalous way that the Adviser could not help writing to the Premier that resignation should be demanded from Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh.

15. The case should have been mentioned, but I presume it is about Shri Gopal Saran Singh, the ex-Minister of Vindhya Pradesh. He had to resign on account of his acute differences with Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh and since then he bears ill-will towards him and in order to wreak vengeance he is always on the lookout for an opportunity to humiliate Shri Gopal Saran Singh. The allegations made against him have been referred to the Legal Remembrancer for opinion whether any case is made out against him. The truth is that the police did not register any case against him but as is his habit he asked the IGP to register a case against him and this he did.

16. The budget was considered by the whole Cabinet for days together in the presence of the Adviser and ultimately it was passed by the Cabinet. Of course, as is usual, the Finance Minister was absent from headquarters but even during his absence the Finance Department was consulted. The disclosure of the note by the Finance Secretary was discussed in the Cabinet. Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh brought an allegation against the Finance Secretary that they discussed it with the Adviser on his suggestion. An explanation was demanded from the Finance Secretary who denied the allegation. The Cabinet was accordingly informed.

The above is a brief and humble explanation of the various charges brought by my colleagues against me. I should not be taken to be presumptuous when I say that the explanations furnished above will convince you about their authenticity. One thing is peculiarly interesting to be mentioned in this connection. These colleagues of mine, after working under my leadership for over ten months, have now made these charges on 8 April when they came to know that their misdeeds and objectionable behaviour [have] compelled me to request you to permit me to reshuffle my Cabinet. This was done on 7 April, which made them alert and induced them to put me in an embarrassing position by making these charges in advance and at the same time manoeuvring to get a no-confidence motion passed against me by a defunct Congress committee which has been also condemned by the venerable Rastrapati, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

During the last two months I always felt that these colleagues of mine always tried to bypass me and making combinations amongst themselves against me to fulfil their personal ends. The recent arrest of the Industrial Minister has brought to light a letter written by Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh in which he has promised to help him in settling the case by his opinion in which a bribe of Rs. 25,000 is alleged to have been accepted by the Industries Minister. This will amply reveal the underhand dealings by my colleagues over my head.

My colleagues have also accused me of inefficiency in administration, but they have not made it quite clear as to when this wisdom dawned upon them. However, I wish to say that I have always tried in my humble way to serve the Government and the people of Vindhya Pradesh, the cherished ideal of my life, without ever caring to understand the concept of efficiency in administration. It really lies with them who have been kind enough in making my appointment to sit in judgement and pronounce it. I have always regarded myself as a humble servant of the people and will always regard myself as such in whatever condition and position I am placed by Providence.

Awadhesh Pratap Singh
P. M., Vindhya Pradesh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

Camp 56, Constitution House
New Delhi
10 April 1949

Shri V. Shankar
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
27, Safdarganj Road
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing an English translation of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Vindhya Pradesh PCC in its [emergency] meeting held here on 10 April 1949 on a requisition to be placed before the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel for his information.

Yours faithfully,
Bansapati Singh
President
Vindhya Pradesh Provincial
Congress Committee

ENCLOSURE
RESOLUTION NO. 4

The President of the Vindhya Pradesh PCC and the requisitionists explained to the Executive Committee of the PCC the reasons for requisitioning and convening the meeting. The Executive Committee also heard from the Ministers present their explanation of the deteriorating situation [in] Vindhya Pradesh. The Committee regrets that Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singh, who is also present in Delhi, did not respond to the invitation of the President.

The Committee is alarmed at the revelations made in the Committee and the explanations given by the Ministers and the Committee regretfully records its considered opinion that the present Ministry is incapable of handling the situation. In the opinion of the Committee the following are the main causes for the failure of the Administration:

1. The Prime Minister has failed to secure the confidence and co-operation of his colleagues in the Cabinet.

2. The Prime Minister interferes in every other Minister's work and sometimes passes orders without consulting the Minister concerned.
3. The Prime Minister's contradictory orders on the same issue.
4. The Prime Minister's attempt of throwing all the blames for the mistakes on his colleagues and
5. The Prime Minister's vilification of his colleagues and of high officials.

The Committee was shocked to hear the report that the Prime Minister interferes even in criminal cases and particularly of a case under Section 304A where an accused suspected of murder was not allowed to be arrested.

The Prime Minister does not act with the restraint necessary in a person holding such a high position. He keeps no secret. He boasts in public of his intentions and his colleagues' reactionary obstructions.

The Committee is of the opinion that no Government under the leadership of Captain Awadhesh Pratap Singh can function and, therefore, calls upon him to resign.

The Committee further heard with regret the stories of corruption of some of the Ministers. No definite allegations were placed before the Committee to make investigation possible. In the knowledge of the Committee the allegations are not founded on facts and are invented by some interested person. The Committee is happy to note that the Ministers concerned were not only agreeable to an inquiry but themselves were demanding it. The Committee, therefore, requests the States Ministry to institute an inquiry if any definite allegation is brought before it and the Committee endorses the decision of the Ministers concerned that if any inquiry is instituted against any one of them he would [not] function as Minister during the inquiry.

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Camp 56, Constitution House
New Delhi
10 April 1949

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee held at 16, Babar Lane, New Delhi, on 9 April 1949 at 9 p.m.

The meeting was adjourned to 8 a.m. 10 April. The proceedings of this meeting will be sent later on.

Yours sincerely,
Prakash Narain
Secretary,
Provincial Congress Committee

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION No. 1

The Working Committee of the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee heartily congratulates the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on his providential escape from the plane accident. The Committee cannot but praise the meritorious services of Sardar Patel rendered for the country. His services and sacrifice for the attainment of the country's freedom will ever remain on record. His able leadership has successfully steered the ship of our country through tumultuous waters and is now sailing firmly ahead.

The credit [for] integration of the States, abolishing the autocratic rule of Rajas and suppressing all reactionary, communal and destructive forces in the country goes solely to Sardar Patel. His leadership is essential for the country.

On this occasion we all pray to God for the long life of our beloved leader.

RESOLUTION No. 2

Re: Merger

The Vindhya Pradesh Congress Working Committee functions under the leadership of the Congress and it will always carry out their decisions faithfully and willingly. But as representatives of 36 lakh souls of Vindhya Pradesh and being in touch with the popular feelings thereof, the Committee hopes that whenever our leaders take any vital decision about this province they will kindly consult the PCC also.

RESOLUTION No. 3

Re: Indiscipline in Congressmen

This meeting of the executive committee of the VPPCC is very much alarmed and regrets the indiscipline in the Vindhya Pradesh Congress organisation. Just after the formation of the Vindhya Pradesh Congress Committee, some of the PCC members, including [those] of Rewa and Bundelkhand districts, began to make vicious propaganda through the Press, platform and bulletins . . . against the Congress Government of the province and the Provincial Congress Committee. In this work they hobnobbed with the rulers, Socialists and Communists.

Explanations were demanded from such Congressmen, and they were warned that if they fail to produce satisfactory explanation and if they do not work in proper discipline disciplinary action will be taken against them. Thereafter, for some time the work of the Congress ran smoothly. But since it was known that the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee has been asked not to take disciplinary action till further orders it has further aggravated chaos and confusion in the Vindhya Pradesh Congress.

Some Congressmen, who are members of the PCC and DCC, also have begun publicly abusing Congress Ministers, PCC office-bearers and other Congress workers. Some indisciplined and misguided Congressmen excited the people for showing black-flag and staging hostile demonstration against the President of the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee and Congress Ministers of the Vindhya Pradesh Government. Wherever they get a chance they excite the people against the Congress and the Congress Government of Vindhya Pradesh, through the Press, platform, pamphlets and demonstrations. In this way the Congress and the Congress Government of Vindhya Pradesh [are] being lowered in public esteem and all are losing fast the confidence of the people. Unfortunately, this is being done by some Congress members against whom the executive feels that in conformity with the discipline and tradition of the Congress, the Committee cannot propagate publicly.

Therefore, this Committee humbly request the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, that to save the prestige and popularity of the Congress organisation of Vindhya Pradesh, this Committee be very kindly vested with the same powers of maintaining discipline as are vested with all other provincial Congress committees or the Committee be directed some other methods of maintaining the discipline of the Congress.

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Chief Minister's Office
Rewa
Vindhya Pradesh
22 August 1949

Dear Mr. Menon,

I have just received your letter of 17 August 1948, [given below] enclosing copies of a letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad and of your reply to it. The information given by Hon'ble Rafi Ahmed Kidwai to Dr. Prasad is misleading. I do not remember to have seen a copy of his letter to the States Ministry. Cases of criminal breach of trust under Section 409 IPC against Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh were not registered on that letter but on regular complaints received from other sources and on the charge-sheets drawn up against

Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh. Investigation showed that some important incriminating Government files which used to be in the personal custody of Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh had been retained by him. Some searches were made in order to obtain possession of those files and other documents. It is reported that some relevant papers have been found.

2. Ever since these criminal cases were registered, Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh has been busy trying to cloud the issues in order, obviously, to escape the consequences of his actions. He has been sending false reports to Hon'ble Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister with copies to Hon'ble Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Purushottamdas Tandon. His paid agents in Rewa and other places have also been doing the same. Hon'ble Rafi Ahmed complained to Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla, Premier of CP, at Delhi the other day that we were 'concocting' cases against Narmada Prasad Singh, without ascertaining the facts of the case. His present complaint to Dr. Rajendra Prasad is another instance of the same kind.

Yours sincerely,
S. N. Mehta

Shri V. P. Menon, CSI, CIE
Adviser to Government of India
Ministry of States
New Delhi

COPY OF A LETTER DATED 17-8-1949, FROM MR. V. P. MENON TO
SHRI S. N. MEHTA, CHIEF MINISTER, VINDHYA PRADESH, REWA

Please see the enclosed copy of a letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad and of my reply. I shall be glad to know the facts as soon as possible so that I can write to Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
8 August 1949

My dear Mr. Menon,

I have received a letter from the Hon'ble Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai informing me that in Vindhya Pradesh searches of the houses of a number of Congressmen were carried out by the police including the house of Mr. Banspati Singh, President of the ad hoc Provincial Congress Committee, and that all this action was being taken possibly on the basis of a letter which I wrote to the States Ministry which is being treated as a complaint under

Section 411/409. I should like to know if that is so. I had written that letter because a purse had been presented to me as President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund which I learnt subsequently was not made up of collections already made but that collections were being subsequently made to reimburse the amount and that a separate fund was also being collected. I felt that I owed it to the States Ministry to let it know that if I had known that the purse that was presented to me was obtained from a source other than collections made for the purpose, I may not have accepted it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri V. P. Menon
Adviser, States Ministry

New Delhi
17 August 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

Owing to my absence on tour I could not acknowledge till now the receipt of your letter of 8 August. I am sorry for the delay.

I do not think Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's information is correct, but I am making enquiries from the Vindhya Pradesh Government and shall write to you again when I receive a reply.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1, Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi

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New Delhi
12 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Herewith I am enclosing a letter I have just received from Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh.

When Sardar Narmada Prasad was Minister of Vindhya Pradesh all sorts of allegations were being made against him and I understood as a consequence of these allegations, the Vindhya Pradesh Ministry was dissolved. I also understood orders were issued to the new administration to make enquiries into the allegations.

Some time in July when the District Magistrate of Allahabad was approached by the Vindhya Pradesh administration to sanction a search of Sardar [Narmada Prasad] Sahib's house in Allahabad it became clear that the administration had not been able to find proof for the substantiation of any of the allegations. Later on it became known that when the investigation officers could not do anything, they called upon the complainants to substantiate their allegations. But they expressed their inability as according to them they had only repeated the rumours and they knew nothing personally. I was sure this would be the end of the matter. But the enclosed letter shows that police is still after Sardar Sahib.

Sardar Sahib had purchased some Chevrolet cars from a Lucknow dealer. It was alleged he had been paid some discount. The Vindhya Pradesh CID visited Lucknow and looked into the papers. I am told they were shown papers showing the amount paid and the price charged.

Some purchases were made also from Allen Berry's Lucknow branch. In 1947 Sardar Sahib had advanced some money to Allen Berry for the purchase of a Jeep and two trailers. This money he could not recover back and there was some correspondence about it. It was paid back later when Sardar Sahib was a Minister in Vindhya Pradesh. The police thought it was a bribe and they made inquiries from Allen Berry about it. I hope this matter has also been dropped.

I refrained from speaking to you about allegations against Sardar Narmada Prasad. It was but proper that inquiries be made against the charges of corruption. But I think police has been given sufficient time to make enquiries. If they have not been able to find anything to prove against him, the persecution should stop.

I am sorry for the impression that has been created that the CP Government has been trying to influence your decision to merge Vindhya Pradesh in CP and they think if Sardar Sahib is removed from the field of activity the decision for merger with CP will become easy. I am sure this is a wrong impression and it is not fair to Dwarka Prasad [Mishra] or his Government, but the impression is there.

Yours sincerely,
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

ENCLOSURE

22, Luker Road

Allahabad

9 September 1949

My dear Rafi Sahib,

Much water has passed down the bridge since I came here.

A CID [officer] from CP came to me to ask me about certain things but I told him that I could reply to any query when it was put to me in writing by some responsible high official, and that I was not prepared to deal with police sub-inspectors or inspectors.

A few CID men had gone to Lucknow and Krishnaji showed them the Nos. and dates of the bank draft and cheques through which payments for the Chev. car and its additional fittings were made by me. They also went to M/S. Allen Berry & Co., Lucknow, to inquire about a sum of Rs. 1,500 which had been deposited by me as an advance against my order for a Jeep Command and two trailers in 1947. This money was refunded to me in March 1949 and the able officials of CP thought that it was a bribe. Since 1947 there had been a regular correspondence between Allen Berry and myself in regard to this advance. I do not know whether the Allen Berry people showed that correspondence to the CP police or not. I forwarded copies of these correspondence to Pt. Jawaharlalji Nehru, when he was at Kanpur. I could not go there on account of my illness.

Mr. Mehta, Chief Minister, and Mr. Shukla, IGP of Vindhya Pradesh, have been frequently going to Nagpur and holding consultations with Shri Dwarka Prasadji [D. P. Mishra]. What they are planning about now I do not know.

When Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was here about 40 prominent Congress workers, grain dealers, and kisan Congressites waited on him on the 4th. He had assigned only 5 minutes originally for this deputation but he actually spent more than half an hour in listening to their grievances and cross-examining them with a view to clarifying certain points. I could not meet him as I was not well. I have not yet properly recovered though for the last three days I had been making slight progress.

The deputationists informed Panditji, (1) how old fossils of CP had been brought to Vindhya Pradesh and how unnecessary new posts carrying big salaries were being created to accommodate CP people, (2) how my procurement scheme had been abandoned resulting in the loss of about 5 lakh maunds

of rice which has been rotting in the grain mandies and in the houses of cultivators, (3) how my agricultural expansion scheme had been dropped with the result that six tractors, pumping machineries and other implements purchased by the then Government were lying idle, (4) how the scheme of opening 30 seed stores was dropped, (5) how schemes for constructions of new roads, opening of new secondary and primary schools and Ayurvedic dispensaries, establishment of Gram Panchayats, abolition of zamindari, construction of new irrigation tanks and bandhs have all been abandoned and how 300 policemen with tear gas equipment have been brought to Vindhya Pradesh to suppress the popular agitation against merger and how real Congressmen are being humiliated.

Panditji listened to all these things, discussed them and made copious notes thereof. I wonder why Vindhya Pradesh should be merged with CP when Phulkian, which is smaller in income, population and area than Vindhya Pradesh, is kept separate.

I have written all this for your information as the question might be taken up when Sardar Patel returns to New Delhi on 26 Sept.

I am enclosing a cutting of the leading article of Patrika on "Procurement Policy" for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,
Narmada Prasad Singh

The Hon'ble Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
New Delhi

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Bombay
15 September 1949

My dear Rafi,

Thank you for your letter of 12 September 1949.

I am really sorry that Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh should have again troubled you in this matter. He ought to know that the whole matter requires very careful investigation. It is not possible for the police, with the best will in the world, to complete investigation of so many charges in such a comparatively short time. I am sure you realise the difficulties of investigation in the atmosphere of Vindhya Pradesh, particularly when a person like Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh is involved and when people realise that he has access to high quarters. I would not like, in any way, unnecessarily to hustle matters. The investigation must take its proper time and its proper course.

Personally, I feel considerably embarrassed at these interventions from you. I know already that one District Magistrate did not give assistance to the Vindhya Pradesh police, because he felt that Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh had your support and he might get himself in trouble on that account. I am sure you will realise that such an impression lower down in the ranks of the investigating staff is completely demoralising. Now that charges have been preferred—and I can tell you that there are more than a score of charges against him—the investigations must take their normal course and any interference from me in the course of the investigations is neither desirable nor proper in the public interest. I am sure that, with your zeal for investigations in similar cases, you will agree with me.

From your letter I infer that you have not been correctly apprised of the true position regarding the resignation of the Vindhya Pradesh Ministry; nor as regards the position about the so-called merger of Vindhya Pradesh. In April last, the Vindhya Pradesh Ministry approached me with charges and counter-charges against various Ministers. The Ministers themselves pressed for investigation in those charges. It was, therefore, not a question of dissolution because of charges against Sardar Narmada Prasad alone; in fact, Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh himself told me that the Ministers, including himself, had proved themselves thoroughly incompetent for the positions of responsibility which they held and that merger or Central administration was the only feasible and suitable proposition. Having regard to this position, any suggestion that the investigation of charges against Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh has been prompted by the CP Government is fantastic nonsense. As regards the time taken, having regard to the nature of the charges and the difficulties of the investigating staff, to which I have already referred and which, from my own experience of this case, I can well appreciate, I do not think that the time they have taken, or may still take, can be called 'excessive'. Less difficult cases and fewer charges have taken two or three years to investigate. Nevertheless, I have already impressed upon everybody the need for expedition and despatch.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Minister for Communications
New Delhi

TELEGRAM

23 September 1949

Upao
Lucknow (UP)

FOLLOWING FOR PANDIT GOVIND VALLABH PANT FROM SARDAR PATEL. BEGINS. REFERENCE YOUR TELEPHONIC CONVERSATION WITH SHANKAR REGARDING NARMADA PRASAD SINGH. SERIOUS CHARGES INVOLVING MORAL TURPITUDE HAVE BEEN PREFERRED AGAINST HIM BY RESPONSIBLE PERSONS INCLUDING SOME OF HIS EXCOLLEAGUES. THEY RELATE TO PERIOD BEFORE AND AFTER HE BECAME MINISTER OF VINDHYA PRADESH. THEY ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION AND NO FINAL OPINION CAN BE EXPRESSED ON MERITS. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE HOWEVER TO IGNORE THEM AND UNTIL HE IS EXONERATED I FEEL IT WOULD BE INADVISABLE TO CONSIDER HIS CANDIDATURE FOR ELECTION ENDS.

Bombay
30 December 1949

My dear Chatterji,

I have discussed with H.M. cases relating to Shri Narmada Prasad Singh and Kampta Prasad Saxena referred to in your letters of 20 and 21 December 1949. H.M. agrees that the three charges under Section 409 IPC against Shri Narmada Prasad Singh and one charge relating to Shri Kampta Prasad Saxena may be put up in court. The latter charge is no doubt petty, but if we single out Narmada Prasad Singh it is likely that he might charge us with isolating him from others whereas allegations were made against everybody. Although it is petty in nature, it is a glaring case of misuse of Government agency.

2. On the point of arrest H.M. feels that the law must take its course though, of course, there should be no unnecessary show of authority or there should be no humiliation. The proceedings of arrest etc. should be conducted in a courteous manner appropriate to the status of an ex-Minister.

3. As regards the fourth case against Shri Narmada Prasad Singh, H.M. would like it to be expedited and completed as quickly as possible. That also applies to other cases against Narmada Prasad Singh which are pending with the Special Police Establishment.

4. As regards the judge who should try these cases, if Varma is likely to be appointed Chief Justice of Bhopal State, he would naturally prefer to go there. I hope you have been able to ascertain from Bonarji what his intentions are. We can consider the matter once we know about it and also ascertain Varma's wishes. For, if he is unwilling to continue, even if he does not go as Chief Justice, Bhopal State, we might have to look out for some one else. The longer notice we get of it, the better.

5. Incidentally, I think we must do something about Bhopal appointments. As you said the other day, appointments are being made without consulting us. Appointments on a pay of more than Rs. 500 are required to be approved by H.M. and all those arrangements which Bonarji might be contemplating would require HM's approval.

I am returning herewith the papers sent with your letters.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri A. B. Chatterji, ICS
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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Bombay
12 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of the note which I have received from S. N. Mehta, Chief Minister, Vindhya Pradesh. It is merely an instance of how things were being managed in this Union under a popular Congress Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Note

1. A case u/s 384/497 IPC was pending in the Sub-Divisional Magistrate's court against Lal Shiva Shankar Prasad Singh, former Chief Minister and Administrator, Nagod State.
2. Lal Gopal Sharan Singh, ex-Minister for Justice, visited Nagod on 25 August 1948. He told the District Magistrate that the number of cases pending in the courts of the magistrates was quite large and suggested that the powers of a magistrate be conferred on some more persons. The District Magistrate remarked that the proper course would be to ask the Chief Secretary to move the Government in the matter but the Hon'ble Minister said he did not believe in that procedure and would issue orders forthwith. The powers of a 1st class magistrate were accordingly conferred by the Hon'ble Minister on three Munsiffs.
3. At the suggestion of the Hon'ble Minister, the District Magistrate transferred the case mentioned above to the file of one of the new magistrates the very day powers were conferred on him. The newly created magistrate, on his part, took up the case immediately and acquitted the accused the next day i.e., on 26 August.
4. In this case it may be mentioned that both Lal Gopal Sharan Singh, ex-Minister, and Mr. Akhtar Hussain, newly created magistrate who tried the case, are residents of Nagod State. Lal Shiva Shankar Prasad Singh is said to be a great friend of Lal Gopal Sharan Singh.

The Chief Secretary (Shri C. B. Rao) asked for an explanation from the District Magistrate and then submitted a note to Hon'ble Prime Minister. He also made a reference to the Cabinet. It is not on record what view the Cabinet took but it is understood that an apology was offered.

Rewa

23 August 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Birla House
Bombay

LOCAL SITUATION DEMANDS EARLY DECISION REGARDING MERGER THIS WAY OR THAT WAY. DELAY UNDESIRABLE. IF REQUIRED WOULD COME PERSONALLY AND EXPLAIN. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT MERGER SCHEME SHOULD PROVIDE RATIFICATION OF UNIVERSITY SCHEME AND HIGH COURT AND OTHER FACILITIES FOR VINDHYA PRADESH.

AWADHESH PRATAP SINGH

Bharatpur

19 April 1949

Respected Sardar Sahib,

A sense of duty impells me to encroach upon a little of your precious time with a view to apprising you of the situation in Bharatpur as it has developed ever since the announcement of the committee appointed to ascertain the wishes of the people on the question of merger of Bharatpur with UP or Rajasthan.

When Master Adityendra, President, Matsya Union Congress Committee, last waited on you in deputation along with certain co-workers, he expressed his fears that this occasion might be exploited by the ruler and his stooges to rake up old jealousies and prejudices which may endanger public peace.

Unfortunately for the people of Bharatpur, these fears have become to be true. Reports have been received that ever since the announcement of the committee the ruler and his old associates have once again raised the cry of "Jat raj", and "Jat gaddi in danger." By various means caste sentiments and caste prejudices of the innocent and ignorant Jats are being tickled to a feverish heat.

For the last eight or ten months people had been living in comparative peace and amity. Caste prejudice and caste feeling, so sedulously worked up by the past regime, were slowly dying away. But once again old caste hatreds are being revived. All anti-national, anti-Congress and anti-social elements have gathered round the ruler in a united effort to combat and undermine the prestige and influence of the local Congress and nationalist elements.

Thakur Dhruv Singh and Bhagwan Das Marwari, notorious anti-national and anti-social figures whose enlargement on bail on feigned medical grounds quite queerly coincided with this occasion, are, to quote the words of the local Superintendent of Police, "creating havoc." Kunwar Ratan Singh Chowdhry, fully known to the Government of India for his dangerous reactionary activities (vide confidential reports), and Mr. Ranbir Singh, an ex-ADC of the Maharaja, are playing a dominant role. On the other hand, the entire staff of the Maharaja's palace, from the senior most ones down to the washermen and sweepers, have been employed to do propaganda and obtain signatures and thumb impressions for Rajasthan by hook or crook, threat, fraud or force.

The ruler and his two brothers have on several occasions during the last ten or twelve days come out themselves in public and have openly taken part in the propaganda against the local Congress, Congress workers and the movement for merger with UP. On the occasion of Kaila Devi Fair at Jhil-ka-Bara the ruler was personally present amidst his aforesaid associates, who indulged in all sorts of propaganda of the type described above. There are other instances also of a similar type. His two younger brothers, particularly Bachchoo Singh, have been reported to be going on horseback or [in] jeep from village to village doing propaganda.

The dope that is being given to the gullible Jat folk is that in Rajasthan the Maharaja would get back his raj and in UP the Jats and Jat raj would be lost.

This sly propaganda has been worked to a hectic pitch. There have been open incitement to caste hatred and to violence. Numerous cases of violence have occurred and a murderous assault has been made at least in one case that took place at Bhusawar with a view to terrorise and coerce people to give up their demand for UP.

Harijans in Bharatpur suburbs have, it is reported, been threatened with dire consequences in case they express themselves for UP.

Chamars of the villages of Gadoli and Karahi were beaten and terrorised. These people have become panicky. It is also further reported that all sorts of frauds and forgeries are being committed in order to swell the number of signatures and thumb impressions for Rajasthan.

Since a substantial majority of all the various public organisations have already passed resolution demanding merger of Bharatpur with UP, undue pressure is now being brought to bear on certain remaining public organisations, by certain agencies to express themselves against UP.

I have also come to know from reliable sources that the ruler's party is contemplating to engineer a demonstration of the type staged last year on the occasion of the inauguration of the Matsya Union when the committee arrives here on the 24th instant. Word is being sent round to the Jats in the surrounding villages in the name of the Maharaja to muster strong in thousands in Bharatpur on the said date. Arrangements for their transport and food are, it is understood, being made.

It is obvious that such demonstrations are bound to create confusion and panic and cloud judgments. *It may perhaps not* be wise for us to allow counter-demonstrations to be held in the interest of public peace and tranquillity. Even so, the provocation is bound to be there.

The Congress and Congress workers are trying their level best to avoid all possible conflict and are acting with due caution and restraint.

Under such circumstances I only deem it my duty to place all these facts before you for your kind information. I have taken care not to overstate them.

Yours sincerely,
Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi
Deputy Prime Minister
United State of Matsya

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
29 April 1949

My dear Sardarji,

Day before yesterday His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur handed me over the accompanying handbills¹ and complained to me that all sorts of scandals and mischievous propaganda are being done, particularly against him. He assured me that so far as he was concerned he was absolutely neutral and indifferent to what was happening and was willing to abide by whatever directions might be given by the States Ministry. I told him that in that case he had nothing to worry about.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister, India
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 January 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I should have written to you earlier, but my programme in Jamnagar, Rajkot and Jodhpur was so busy that I could not find any time to do so. I should like to express to Your Highness my sincere thanks for the hospitality which was extended to me and my party during our stay at Baroda and for the loan of Your Highness' aircraft and the saloon. We were most comfortable both during our stay in and our journeys from and to Baroda; and for all this we know that we are greatly obliged to you.

I was so glad to renew my contacts with my friends and the people of Baroda after such a long time. I have brought back most happy recollections of my visit, though the pleasure was marred by the prevalence of scarcity conditions in some parts of the State. As I assured Your Highness and the people of Baroda,

¹The handbills related to the merger of Bharatpur State in UP or Rajasthan after the formation of the Matsya Union

we shall do our best to help your Government and the people of Baroda in meeting the emergency which has overtaken them.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Sir Pratap Singhji Bahadur
Maharaja of Baroda
Baroda

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Baroda
9 April 1949

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I spoke to you on the 6th instant for a few minutes on your way from the Council Hall to your office about the necessity of postponing the integration of Baroda State with the province of Bombay until the end of July 1949, i.e. by three months at the most. For reasons mentioned by you, I did not press for the matter further. Since my return to Baroda I had a talk with Mr. Chhotabhai Sutaria and informed him of what you had said. When I broach the matter again in this letter, it is not with a view to insisting on a matter which I had previously declared but with a view to bringing to your notice considerations which I have not advanced on previous occasions excepting in a general way. If after giving them due consideration, you still feel that on account of superior considerations the date of integration cannot be postponed, we as loyal workers would not spare ourselves and carry out the arrangements previously entered into as best as possible. But I feel it our duty to bring to your notice the likely results of a too early integration without proper preparation and the consequent reactions on integrations that may be thought of in other areas. Dhebarbhai¹ particularly spoke to me in this connection.

As apart from the tackling of the problems arising out of famine and merger conditions, we had to do a lot of scavenging work as also constructive work. As each week passes by and as merger approaches nearer and nearer, the volume and intensity of work are steadily increasing. Working in the night is not

¹ U. N. Dhebar: Chief Minister of Saurashtra, 1948; President, Indian National Congress, 1957-59; Chairman, All India Khadi Commission
S.C.-VIII-30

an unusual feature for me; but as each month goes by the number of nights in the week throughout which I have to work have steadily increased. It is now three to four nights a week—either wholly or most of the night that I have to work without corresponding rest in the day to cope with the work—whether I am in Baroda or moving about from one part of the country to another. In the last seven days I had to keep awake for four nights in this way. All my colleagues are also hard worked.

So far as the scavenging part of the work is concerned, we have done quite a lot. Things have considerably improved in spite of bad times occasioned by the famine. A number of Government persons have been dealt with in various ways. Corruption is being rigorously tackled. People have begun to realise that the Government is doing quite a lot for them. Famine, of which much was dreaded in the way of distress, has been held in check. Water conditions for men and cattle are being steadily improved. People are very thankful for the regular supply of food-grains that we have arranged throughout the State and the price at which they are sold. There has not been, to my knowledge, a single case of death from starvation anywhere in the State, and, God willing, there shall be none. I do not anticipate much mortality of cattle owing to lack of fodder in the State. I have tried to get as much of it we could and I have every hope that I shall be able to see the fodder difficulties through until June, by which time, I hope timely rains might come and give much relief.

Relief measures and tagavi in various forms have been of great help to the farmers and labourers. We shall be having a large number of district roads—so far as earthwork is concerned—throughout the State, and a large number of tanks and wells sunk. There have been signs of outbreaks of smallpox and plague, but these have been scotched from the start. Last year we had cholera in Amreli district which was rapidly brought under control.

Now I shall deal with some of the constructive work we have taken up, as apart from the College for Home Science for Women and the University which are still in skeleton form. We have however spent quite a considerable time in formulating the schemes for the same. I have discussed the question of the University with the Education and Law Secretaries and Solicitor to the Government of Bombay and I hope to have it in final form by the 14th instant. As soon as the provisions of His Highness' trust for two crores are known, they can be incorporated in the Bill and then I shall call at short notice a session of the Dhara Sabha to see it through.

We have provided funds for adult education schemes, for converting State high schools and Anglo-vernacular schools into grant-in-aid schools run by voluntary agencies, and for basic schools as also for the instruction of teachers for such schools. A new technical school is being arranged for at Amreli.

Likewise we are providing a large number of maternity homes and dispensaries and at least two district hospitals—one at Visnagar definitely and the other at Navsari—if the negotiations I have in hand fructify. Funds have been obtained for taking over the tuberculosis hospital in Baroda, for providing ambulances in the different districts of the State, and for the improvement of the Okha Harbour. We have also provided fairly good grants for various kinds of rural reconstruction works, as a part from prohibition—grants for encouraging the spinning of yarn and the weaving of khaddar, of sericulture on castor plants and for opening two centres (ashrams) in each district for voluntary workers who are provided with quarters and funds for their work. A special department for backward classes is also created. A number of waterworks are also planned. As regards Baroda City we are formulating schemes for housing societies, including those for the refugees from Sind, and are making arrangements to hand over certain lands and the public park as also the Electric Power House to the City Municipality. To complete all this, time is required. The above list does not complete the full picture of the constructive work planned. If we get three months more, we shall be able to see through quite a lot of schemes on hand and to consolidate what we have started.

Both Chhotabhai Sutaria and I are anxious from the people's point of view that unless we are able to consolidate what we have taken in hand, there might be fairly serious setbacks and people would blame us considerably for carrying out the merger so hurriedly and without proper planning.

As regards the integration proper, we have not yet progressed much in the way of formulating proposals for the taking over of the various departments. The Military Board had come but no decisions have yet been communicated to us. Nothing has yet been done about the Khangi State. Mr. Bedekar who was appointed [officer] on special duty by the Bombay Government has just completed his tour of the State. His report is to come. The heads of departments of the Bombay Government have not yet formulated any plans about taking over various corresponding State departments under them. In some cases such as Civil

Supplies and cloth distribution I myself have taken the initiative. None of the heads of departments have yet come to Baroda to see things for themselves and to discuss details with their opposites in Baroda. As to how the Baroda staff are to be posted and what is to happen to its heads of departments nothing is known. Only three weeks are now left for the merger. Unless a regular quick functioning organisation is set up in time, confusion is likely to take place in the district areas, which will have lost contact with Baroda on account of the merger and in the absence of any other directing machinery properly put up. On account of famine conditions this might assume a somewhat serious turn. All this organisation does require time and hence from the first day when the integration became a fait accompli last February, I have been pressing that time be allowed until July next properly to organise the merger. As the financial year of the State ends on 31 July, such an arrangement would be helpful in various ways. It would also enable us to fix up our budget arrangements for the next year, so that the people of Baroda State would know as to the budget provisions made for the next year for various constructive works in the different districts. This would lead to a lot of contentment. It would also enable us to see our famine arrangements through. I have also taken up the question of joining up Pihij and Nadiad stations and of converting the narrow gauge railway line from Pihij to Sojitra, which has not yet been sanctioned. Likewise I have taken up with the Centre the question of providing trunk telephones at Okha, Dwarka, Kodinar, Amreli, Vijapur and a few other places in the State. All this we can see through if we can work on our own initiative in the period of three months ending in July.

As I have stated before, it is for us to place our difficulties and requirements before you. It is for you to tell us what we should do. If you still think that other superior considerations outweigh all that I have stated above, we shall do as directed. If however circumstances do permit your giving us three months' respite—even of two months—we can assure you of a very good account of ourselves.

As desired by Mr. Menon I am coming there on the 12th instant in connection with the various details concerning the settlement with His Highness the Maharaja, and about the merger. Mr. Menon told me that it would be possible to discuss details with you on that day. I must however leave Delhi for Bombay by the plane leaving Delhi at 2-00 p.m. on the 13th, or at the most the following morning to be in time for the

wedding of my youngest sister-in-law, Minal, which comes off on the evening of the 14th instant.

Yours sincerely,
Jivraj Mehta

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

Since the above was typed one serious matter has come to my notice and I should like to inform you of the same. All the shares and securities are in the name of the Accountant General. These shares and securities are in such large numbers that a mere transfer of them in somebody's name will take several weeks. Unless it is decided in whose names these share certificates are to be transferred, no action is possible. Some of them may go to the Centre, e.g. like railway reserves, telephone reserves; others to the province. Then there are Insurance funds in the interest of the employees of the State. They will have also to be attended to. Unless something is done immediately the Accountant General won't be able to sign any cheques as from 1 May 1949—the date of the merger.

In the case of demise of an individual, shares and securities can be passed on to a successor after taking probate from the High Court. No provision in law seems to exist indicating what action in the way of transferring the shares and securities standing in the name of an official of a State if the State under consideration goes in demise as in the case of merger. They would not automatically go to a successor Government. Quite a large number of our shares are in the companies and companies would not permit transfers unless the transfer is made before the merger or otherwise legally authorised. A serious thought will have to be given to this matter otherwise unless a special ordinance is passed, the successor Government would not be able to get any income held in the name of the Accountant General; nor would that officer be able to operate such accounts as from 1 May 1949.

Jivraj Mehta

New Delhi
12 April 1949

My dear Jivraj,

Thank you for your letter of 9 April 1949.

2. I have carefully considered the matter and feel that it would be best to proceed on the lines we have already chalked out, namely, that the merger should take effect from 1 May 1949. The questions to which you refer have arisen in every case of merger. The only thing is that in the case of Baroda the volume is larger, but, since the intention is to maintain status quo after merger, other changes can be properly thought out and implemented. I see little difficulty in adjusting the administrative machinery to the change. You may, therefore, proceed on the basis that the merger will take place on the scheduled date.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Jivraj Mehta
Dewan, Govt. of Baroda
Baroda

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE MERGER OF BARODA STATE WITH THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY

The occasion of the merger of Baroda State with the province of Bombay is one of great importance in the history of India. I congratulate His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda and the people of the State on the smoothness with which this great change has been brought about. Any one who looks at this great historical event with a narrow vision and concentrates on the immediate small or big gains or losses, cannot measure its true worth. The future historian alone will be able to assess its real value.

Some narrow-minded persons who have been prey to selfishness or who look at things in a small way are dumbfounded at this event of great significance, which they could never have imagined. The eyes of a few who are making ridiculous attempts to prevent this merger, like the fool who tried to empty the water of the ocean by spoonfuls, turn to the Baroda Court. Some, who have always hated the popular will, are now talking of eliciting public

opinion by a plebiscite. The Praja Mandal and the Legislative Assembly have approved this decision of merger. I have been the President of the Baroda State Praja Mandal for a number of years and even now the Praja Mandal takes my advice on every important issue. I would have never advised in favour of the merger if I had the slightest doubt about the popular will. The Praja Mandal and Members of the Legislative Assembly deserve congratulations on this decision. Geographically, if there is any State which is most suited for merger with adjacent territory, it is Baroda. The difficulties created by diverse administrative machineries, between village and village, taluka and taluka and district and district, are nowhere more apparent than in this area. All these obstacles will be wiped out from today and the people would have the good fortune to enjoy the benefits of comforts, conveniences and amenities available under a single administration.

The main work for which Dr. Jivraj was sent there is now nearing completion. The people of Baroda cannot adequately thank him for the ability, enthusiasm and industry which he has displayed in completing the task so successfully.

At this very time, the whole of Gujarat is suffering from the calamity of famine. A great part of Baroda has fallen a prey to this terrible calamity and the burden of dealing with it fell on Dr. Jivraj. The people of Baroda are fully conscious of the skill and energy with which he is attending to this work. The need of his advice and help will still be there for some time more after the merger, and appropriate arrangements will accordingly be made to secure these.

Baroda State has been considered progressive in certain directions; it is also backward in others. The people of Baroda should not be afraid if they have to undergo some difficulties for the present on account of this merger. If the people will make the right use of their appropriate share in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and in the administration of the province, they will make good progress. Moreover, I have not the slightest doubt about the success of this great event because Shri Balasaheb Kher, the Prime Minister of Bombay, on whom lies the responsibility for good or for evil of the whole province, and of whose just, honest and efficient administration everyone is convinced, has come to grace the occasion and to bless you.

TELEGRAM

Camp Swaraj Ashram
Bardoli

17 January 1949

Jainarain Vyas
Pradhan Mantri
Jodhpur

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED SEVENTEENTH. I GAVE AUTHORISED VERSION TO API AND RELEVANT EXTRACT RUNS THUS. BEGINS WHETHER IN OFFICE OR OUTSIDE YOU MUST NEVER THINK OF YOUR OWN SELF BUT OF THE PEOPLE WHO LOOK UP TO YOU FOR GOOD ADMINISTRATION. GIVE UP YOUR MUTUAL DISPUTES. IF A CONGRESS MINISTRY IS IN OFFICE THERE SHOULD BE COMPLETE HARMONY BETWEEN THEM AND THE CONGRESS WORKERS OUTSIDE. YOU MUST REALISE THAT YOU HAVE NEITHER THE EXPERIENCE NOR THE TRAINING IN ADMINISTRATION. YOU WILL HAVE TO LEARN THE TASK OF ADMINISTRATION AS YOU CARRY ON YOUR WORK. IT IS ALL THE MORE NECESSARY THAT YOU USE THE INSTRUMENTS WHICH YOU WIELD WITH A VIEW TO AMELIORATING AND NOT TO INJURING ANYBODY. YOU MUST LEARN THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD AND COMRADESHIP IN A COMMON ENDEAVOUR. YOUR WAY MUST BE THE WAY OF MUTUAL HELP AND NOT JEALOUSIES. YOU SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE AND FOLLOW ONE PATH. ENDS I HOPE THIS CLEARS YOUR MIND. SARDAR IS SURPRISED THAT AS A TRIED CONGRESSMAN AND AS ONE WHO WAS PRESENT IN THE MEETING YOU SHOULD HAVE BECOME SO SENSITIVE TO WRONG REPORTING.

SHANKAR

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
11 March 1949

Shri Jainarain Vyas
Pradhanmantri
Jodhpur

SARDAR WOULD LIKE TO MEET YOU SHASTRIJI MANIKYALAL VERMA AND SHRI SOBHARAM ON SIXTEENTH AT FIVE-THIRTY PM AT HIS HOUSE. PLEASE INFORM OTHERS.

SARDAR IS APPOINTING A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF SHRI B. R. PATEL ONE ENGINEER AND ONE HEALTH OFFICER TO ADVISE ON THE QUESTION OF CAPITAL OF RAJASTHAN. THEY WILL START WORK FROM TOMORROW AND WOULD PROBABLY VISIT JAIPUR UDAIPUR JODHPUR AND AJMER-MERWARA FROM SEVENTEENTH ONWARDS. THIS IS FOR INFORMATION OF YOU ALL. YOU WILL RECEIVE QUESTIONNAIRES FROM THE COMMITTEE SHORTLY.

SHANKAR

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TELEGRAM

Jodhpur
12 March 1949

Shri V. Shankar
Private Secretary to
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR WIRE REPEATED TO ALL CONCERNED. REGARDING COMMITTEE I WOULD SUGGEST POSTPONEMENT TILL WE MEET. WANT TO OFFER SOME SUGGESTIONS.

JAINARAIN VYAS

Rajkot
5 March 1949

Pujya Sardar Sahib,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of a letter I have addressed this day to His Highness the Raj Pramukh in the Gondal case.

Gondal seeks to reopen the matter and there are some interested persons who are moving about trying to create an atmosphere of sympathy for Maharaja Sahib. The letter will clearly show that Menon, Jam Saheb and the Saurashtra Government have dealt with the case as liberally as they could — perhaps more liberally than anybody else would have done in our situation.

This is just one of those cases in which, if we reconsider the matter, we shall have to reopen each and every case. I am sure that His Highness the Raj Pramukh will be satisfied on perusal of the letter that there is no case for reconsideration.

This is just for your information.

With pranams,

Yours obediently,
U. N. Dhebar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Chief Minister's Office
Rajkot
6 March 1949

Your Highness,

I beg to refer to Your Highness's letter dated 19 February, enclosing the original letter dated 27 January/18 February 1949 from His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Gondal.

I have gone through the enclosed letter from His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Gondal.

It is rather unfortunate that His Highness should have sought to reconsider the matter after a happy adjustment so tactfully and generously brought about by Your Highness which has avoided bickering and setting at rest the undignified promptings of human selfishness. I would have avoided entering into the details of transactions which would reflect little credit upon the past administration of Gondal State. But unfortunately that happens to be the background under which the Gondal case is to be considered if we have to enter into the merits of the case.

For my part I would wish His Highness to cheerfully accept the verdict given by Your Highness and the Adviser to the States Ministry as happily and cheerfully as we have done.

I do grant that what I have said in the Press conference is correct. But I have said nothing more than what the covenant itself says, viz, the Saurashtra Government (this does not cover the Government of India) had no authority in the matter; and what has been achieved has been achieved with the co-operation and goodwill of the rulers and the ruled. I could not have paid to His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Gondal along with the other ruling Princes a greater compliment than this. But if it is sought to use it as a handle I cannot help to repeat past history.

When Gondal was to be taken over I was myself apprehensive that the administration had not dealt fairly with the state funds.

In 1944 Rs. 93,25,000 were withdrawn from the state treasury, out of which Rs. 60 lakhs were paid to five sisters and [Rs.] 30 lakhs to two sons. In 1945, something like Rs. 60,00,000 were again withdrawn and paid to the children in 1946. Rs. 2,50,00,000 were withdrawn, out of which Rs. 2,50,00,000 were carried to personal account in 1946. Again nearly Rs. 1,00,00,000 were withdrawn and carried to the personal account.

The present withdrawals and appropriations are a part of the policy to divert as much of the state resources as possible to personal account. The question therefore in the Gondal case is the question of state policy over and above the question of the covenant and the interpretation thereof. I say 'over and above' because though the Saurashtra Government is not competent the Government of India is competent to investigate into this question. If His Highness claims Your Highness' sympathy, so can those also who are charged with the responsibility of running and developing the new state in an ever-growing crisis.

It was therefore that I made it clear before taking over Gondal State that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib should make up his mind to abide by the decision of the States Ministry and yourself on this question. When His

(2) Secondly, there are several resources of the State. For instance, the State Railway, the Shri Shahu Chhatrapati Textile Mills, the Telephone Exchange etc. The value of these assets must be ear-marked for development work in the State which has to be organised on a more or less permanent basis in order to bring Kolhapur on a line with the other districts of the province.

I have addressed detailed letters on these topics to the States Ministry (copies enclosed herewith). Both the matters are very urgent and I would request you to kindly give your most sympathetic consideration to them.

3. I have also one more request to you. The Hon'ble Mr. G. V. Mavalankar has been connected with Kolhapur for a very long time. He knows the people here, the local situation, and our problems. He has also known some of our development schemes at first hand. I would, therefore, be grateful if you would kindly request him to give you his views on these problems. He would be able to explain the whole position in a way in which no official can ever do.

With best regards,

Yours faithfully,
Ratnappa Kumbhar

Office of the Kolhapur Dist. Congress
Committee,
Kolhapur

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Bombay
15 February 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

A number of representatives of Kolhapur have come here to ask me to request you to visit Kolhapur to inaugurate the merger of the state in the Union. The people of the state are practically all agreed that merger is in the best interests of the state and therefore there is no dissension. It is the desire and view of all these workers, with which I concur, that your visit will materially assist the amelioration of the non-Brahmin element and reconcile it to the change more wholeheartedly. I understand that you are visiting Hyderabad in the last week of February. If the dates could be so adjusted that you could visit Kolhapur on your

way to or from Hyderabad about the 28th of this month I think there would not be great difficulty in complying with the sincere desire of these people. Kolhapur has got an aerodrome, and therefore your plane can visit it and return the same day if necessary. They are even prepared to inaugurate the merger few days before the 1st of March if it is inconvenient for you to visit Kolhapur on the 1st of March. I wish to add my own voice to this appeal of the Kolhapur workers, and I hope it will be possible for you to agree. Nanjappa is of the same view, and so are some of my colleagues.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

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Camp Government House
Nagpur
21 February 1949

My dear Balasaheb,

Thank you for your letter of 15 February 1949 regarding your proposal that I should visit Kolhapur.

I fully appreciate your desire and that of other friends that I should inaugurate the merger of Kolhapur [with] Bombay province. I should have been delighted to do so, but previous engagements and the condition of my health do not permit it. It will not be possible for me to get away from Hyderabad before the 28th, and I must return to Delhi on the 1st morning. Please explain this difficulty to other friends. I hope they will realise the position.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher
Premier of Bombay
Bombay

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
11 March 1949

Nanjappa
Administrator
Kolhapur

FOLLOWING IS SARDAR'S MESSAGE ON OCCASION OF MERGER. BEGINS.
ON THE OCCASION OF MERGER OF KOLHAPUR STATE WITH BOMBAY
PROVINCE I SEND TO THE PEOPLE OF KOLHAPUR MY BEST WISHES FOR
THEIR HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY. TREND OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT
IS INCREASINGLY IN FAVOUR OF CLOSER UNITY. NEVER IN THE
HISTORY OF INDIA WAS NEED FOR UNITY GREATER. AM VERY
GLAD THAT HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA AND PEOPLE OF KOLHAPUR
HAVE REALISED THIS NEED AND HAVE DECIDED TO SHAPE STATE'S
FUTURE IN GREATER UNISON WITH THEIR NEIGHBOURS AND IN
COMPLETE INTEGRATION WITH THE INDIAN UNION. I HOPE THE
PEOPLE OF KOLHAPUR WILL UTILISE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR
DEMOCRATISATION THAT WILL INEVITABLY FOLLOW WITH WISDOM
AND PRUDENCE AND THAT IN ASSOCIATION WITH THEIR BRETHREN IN
THE PROVINCE OF BOMBAY THEY WILL MAKE RAPID PROGRESS IN THE
FULFILMENT OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS AND DESTINY. I WISH THEM
GODSPEED. ENDS.

SHANKAR

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New Delhi
9 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a telegram which I have just received. I suppose
you have also received a similar telegram. Whether it is a true
account or not I do not know, but it does reveal an extraordinary
state of affairs.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
11 January 1949

My dear Jawahar,

Please refer to your letter regarding a telegram which you have received from Bhopal.

I sent an officer of the Intelligence Bureau two or three days ago to make enquiries on the spot and let us know the true state of affairs. His reports make it clear that Chatur Narain Malaviya, Prime Minister of Bhopal, has played into the hands of the ruler, whose strong feeling against merger are well known, who himself worked entirely against association in any form with India and who agreed to accession only in the last resort. You must have noticed that even up to now he has not sent any representatives to the Constituent Assembly. In all these the ruler is definitely at variance with his people. The enquiries of our man confirm that the movement for merger is very strong and that the merger party is definitely in a majority. Attempts are being made to crush any outward expression of public feeling in favour of merger. The reports of firings, etc. are all exaggerated and in many respects false. There have been two lathi charges, as a result of which two men have died and several have been injured. In some towns hartal is being observed as a protest against Government's highhandedness.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

DRAFT OF A LETTER FROM SARDAR PATEL TO
THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

28 January 1949

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I have received Your Highness' letter of 7 January and have given it my careful thought. I am sure you would like me to

be absolutely frank in conveying to Your Highness my views, which I need hardly say are governed wholly by what I consider your and your people's best interests.

2. As Your Highness is no doubt aware, we are passing through dynamic times. When the correspondence referred to in your letter passed between us, we were proceeding on the basis of a policy which appeared to us in the light of the conditions then obtaining as the right approach to our objective of stabilising the administrative and political set-up of the States and fitting them into the constitutional structure of India. We were then passing, and are even now passing, through a transitional period and policies adopted during such a period are of necessity liable to be readjusted, particularly when one is to deal with something in the nature of popular upsurge for a radical overhaul of systems and values considered incompatible with the changed conditions.

3. Since we announced the policy of the Government of India for the integration of States considered inherently incapable of survival as individual units, events have moved faster than we had anticipated. The integration of the smaller units has now caught the imagination of the people and even such important major States as Gwalior have, in the wider interests of the people, found it advisable to merge their separate entity into bigger units. As a result, the popular conception of viable units has undergone a radical change. Even when we had drawn a provisional line between the States then considered viable and non-viable, Bhopal State was more or less a borderline case. Now that States much bigger than Bhopal have been integrated in larger Unions, it is only natural that the popular demand for Bhopal State finding its place in a larger unit should gain momentum.

4. The establishment of a popular government in Your Highness' State has indeed been a step in the right direction. You and your Government's endeavour to maintain communal harmony and peace and order should likewise receive the fullest support from all right-thinking elements. I feel, however, that the demand of the people for the integration of the State has come to stay, and in so far as it might lie at the root of any political unrest in your State the only effective—and if I might add also honourable—way of dealing with it would be for Your Highness to take the right decision, which, unpleasant as it may look in its immediate perspective, will not only promote the well-being of your people but also ensure for you a period of peace and contentment to which you have looked forward. As a sincere well-wisher

of Your Highness and your people, I feel that it would indeed be the part of wisdom to take this decision before the agitation for the integration of the State assumes any ugly form and before a stage is reached when it loses all grace. I believe [that] in the gratitude of your people and their peace and contentment you will find your reward for the sacrifice that such a decision might involve. I do hope Your Highness will act in a manner in keeping with your political foresight with which your friends, among whom I include myself, have always credited you.

Many thanks, I am well and hope this finds you in the enjoyment of excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal
[See Appendix I]

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FROM THE AGENDA OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE MINISTRY
OF STATES DATED 31 JANUARY 1949

AIDE MEMOIRE ON INTEGRATION OF STATES

The policy of integration of States with provinces was pursued further during the latter part of last year. His Highness the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj signed an agreement for the merger of his State on 17 October 1948. The administration of Mayurbhanj was taken over by the Government of India on 9 November 1948 and was constituted into a Chief Commissioner's Province. It has since been merged, with effect from 1 January 1949, in the Province of Orissa. The State of Danta (a State in Gujarat States) has been merged in Bombay with effect from 6 November 1948. The administration of Sirohi State has been handed over to the Bombay Government on 5 January 1949 to be administered by them on behalf of the Government of India. Bilaspur, a State in the Punjab Hill States, has been formed into a Chief Commissioner's province in view of the proposed Bhakra Dam which would be in Bilaspur.

2. A Bill was introduced in the last session of the Constituent Assembly to amend Section 290 of the Government of India Act and passed by the Constituent Assembly of India. In this Act, provision has been made for the administration of the merged

States as part of a Governor's or as a Chief Commissioner's province like Delhi. It is now proposed to issue orders under the new Act to provide for their administration as part of the Province to which they are now attached.

3. The Rajpramukhs of the six Unions have signed an Instrument of Accession whereby they have accepted all matters included in Lists I and III of the seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act 1935 as matters in respect of which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the Unions. The scope of Accession however does not include taxation but the question of the financial relations between the Unions and the Central Government is now engaging the attention of the Indian States Finances Enquiry Committee, whose report is awaited.

4. For some time past negotiations had been carried on with the Rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner with a view to the inclusion of these States in the Rajasthan Union. His Highness the Maharaja of Udaipur and these three important Rulers having given their consent to the formation of a Greater Rajasthan Union, and His Highness the Maharawal of Jaisalmer having signified his agreement, the Deputy Prime Minister announced on 14 January 1949 at Udaipur the creation of this Union. The details still remain to be worked out and a conference will be called at Delhi early in February to settle the terms of the Covenant and other matters.

5. The future of Baroda and Kolhapur States has been under discussion with the Rulers for some time. If these discussions prove fruitful an announcement will shortly be made regarding the integration of these States with the adjoining provinces.

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Sardarsamand
Jodhpur

Rajputana

25 January 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

It was very kind of you to have made last-minute changes in your programme for the sake of visiting Jodhpur. I had been eagerly looking forward to have the honour and privilege of greeting

you personally on your arrival in Jodhpur, but fate has decreed otherwise.

I have been running a constant temperature for the last 10 days. When I received the confirmation of your visit here, I had hoped that I would be well to welcome you. I had the doctors only last night to examine me with a view to letting me go to Jodhpur to meet you. But they are of the opinion that it would be totally unwise for me to stir, in view of my paratyphoid. Their decision is my misfortune inasmuch as it prevents me from welcoming a great personage who has been so kind and affectionate to me and who had such dear relations with my late lamented father.

I do hope you will therefore kindly excuse my inability to welcome you in person. However, I hope you will be good enough to accept our reception, which although humble, will, I can assure you Sardar Sahib, be none the less warm and sincere.

With my profound apologies again,

Yours very sincerely,
Hanwantsingh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
Camp Umaid Bhawan
Jodhpur

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Camp Umaid Bhawan Palace
Jodhpur
25 January 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 25 January 1949.

I am very sorry to hear that you have been taken ill and I am so disappointed that that illness prevents us from meeting each other. Having regard to my relations with the late Maharaja Sahib and yourself, I was looking forward to my visit to Jodhpur, even though for a few hours. The pleasure of that visit has been considerably marred by Your Highness' illness and absence. I hope, however, that you will make a speedy recovery and will be restored to your normal health soon.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness the Maharaja
Sahib of Jodhpur
Sardarsamand
Jodhpur
Rajputana

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Narsingharh, CI
12 May 1949

My dear Hon'ble Sardar,

At the outset I beg to be excused for intruding upon your most valuable time by submitting these few lines for your sympathetic and favourable consideration.

In connection with the settlement of inventory of private and personal property of the rulers of Madhya Bharat Prant a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 has been fixed for payment by me to the Madhya Bharat exchequer as compensation, it is alleged, for improperly spending certain sums of money amounting to about 6 lakh of rupees from 1 January 1948 to the date of handing over charge on 29 June 1948. Although I furnished a detailed explanation proving my bona fide and good intention whereby I was forced by circumstances to spend the amount, as I did, with the best of intention always keeping the interest of the State at heart before finally saying goodbye, unfortunately the grounds so furnished did not meet with the approval of those concerned and I have been required to pay Rs. 1,00,000 within a week and the balance by 15 July.

I have no cash at all with me and have about Rs. 1,25,000 in fixed deposits with the Imperial Bank of India, Bhopal, which represents my life's savings and which I had set apart for my rainy days. My first and primary concern is to impart the best of education to my son who is studying in B.A. class at Agra in St. John's College, but it is my keenest desire to send him abroad for suitable training so as to fit himself to discharge any work of responsibility; secondly he has become of marriageable age and it is up to me to see him wedded, if not with great pomp and

show, but befitting my rank and position. These items will entail heavy expenditure on me and as I have no source left excepting the fixed allowance which barely meets my requirement, it will be [absolutely] impossible for me to discharge my commitments.

On top of all this my health is deteriorating day by day and I can hardly find another source of income. I have devoted all my energies for the welfare and good of my people throughout the period I had the good luck of guiding their destinies, never caring to amass wealth and never attaching any importance towards that side. I now find myself face to face with a financial crisis at this stage when I am no better than a cripple and hardly able to express myself. Under these circumstances and finding myself quite destitute and no one but your nobleself to come to my rescue, I am submitting this personal appeal to you with the hope and trust that you will very kindly use your good offices to absolve me from payment of Rs. 1,50,000 to the Madhya Bharat Government as compensation and which it can afford to forego.

Yours sincerely,
Vikram Singh
Maharaja of Narsingharh
(Madhya Bharat)

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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Swiss Hotel
2 Alipore Road
New Delhi
15 May 1949

Dear Sardar Shri,

I have come here from Narsingharh to pay my respects to your goodself and make a personal submission to you in connection with the application already submitted to your honour. I shall deem it a great favour if you will be pleased to grant me an interview at your early convenience as due to my permanent illness my health may suffer under the heat.

I will be accompanied by Mr. C. B. Sanghi and Pandit Shivanarain Vaidya, who will explain for me.

Yours sincerely,
Vikram Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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Jubbal House
3 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
19 May 1949

Dear Sardar Shri,

May I respectfully remind you about my letter dated 15 May 1949 requesting your honour to grant me an interview? I submit herewith a copy of the said letter along with a copy of my letter dated 12 May 1949, both submitted to your honour through your private secretary. I have not yet received a reply fixing the interview.

I know your honour is having a greatly needed rest at Dehra Dun. I feel great hesitation in making this request. But I hope you will be graciously pleased to grant me the favour of an interview at Dehra Dun at your convenience, preferably in the first week of June.

Due to my illness and inability to express clearly I will be accompanied by Shri C. B. Sanghi and Pandit Shivanarain Vaidya.

Yours sincerely,
Vikram Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Dehra Dun

matter. I request you to please take into consideration the necessity of providing the complimentary guards at my palace, as in the case of my brother rulers, and instruct the provincial Government to supply the full strength of guards as before. The District Magistrate, Cuttack, should have consulted me before he could report to Government about the necessity or otherwise of retaining the complementary palace guards here. But he appears to have overlooked my prestige and interest and submitted his report with a motive best known to him. In the event of the Government's not considering favourably the restoration of the same, which I feel to be a great insult, and withdrawal of privilege so solemnly guaranteed to me under the terms of the agreement executed with the Government of India, I shall be painfully forced, under the present circumstances, to ask the existing guards to leave their jobs from my palace with effect from 10-9-49.

I shall be grateful if you please favour me with your kind decision as soon as possible.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Illegible

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

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Camp Government House
Nagpur
21 February 1949

My dear Buch,

I was going through the covenant of the United State of Rajasthan and there is one point that struck me. In Article IV (B) it is provided that if the Rajpramukh is unable to perform his duties those duties shall be performed by one of the senior vice-presidents of the council of rulers who may be nominated by the Government of India in consultation with the Rajpramukh. We cannot rule out the contingency that even one of the two senior vice-presidents may not be available. You say in Saurashtra how we were up against a similar difficulty, though there was only one Uprajpramukh. I suggest, therefore, that we may provide for a Rajpramukh to be nominated from among the junior vice-presidents in case the senior ones are not available.

[Undated]

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF
EAST PUNJAB

"The decision to have a separate centrally-administered area of Himachal Pradesh was taken after considerable deliberation, and, if I may say so, hesitation. We were not unmindful of the claims which East Punjab would put forward to the merger of this area with their province. But the most important considerations which weighed with us in coming to this decision were that the whole area required intensive efforts for development, it might need financial assistance of some magnitude, and the rulers and the people themselves were in favour of a central administration. I am convinced that the decision which we have reached is the right and proper one and in the interests of the people of this tract.

I feel that at the head of the administration in Himachal Pradesh there should be an officer of experience and administrative ability who would be able to give his whole time to the setting up of the organisation and the drawing up and completion of many schemes of development which would be necessary to raise the moral and material well-being of the people. I am afraid, therefore, it will not be possible to attach it to the Governorship of East Punjab."

New Delhi
21 July 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 20 July 1949 regarding Trivedi's proposal that the Governor of the East Punjab should also be the Head of Himachal Pradesh, to the exclusion of the Chief Commissioner.

I entirely endorse what you have said in your reply to Trivedi. Both the Princes and the people in Himachal Pradesh are entirely opposed to merger with East Punjab; in fact, they even resented our getting officers from that province to man their

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administration. We had to tell them that this was inevitable as there was no other province which could spare any officers. If we combine the two offices, public opinion would regard it as a prelude to merger and that would have a most unsettling and disturbing effect.

Apart from this, there are certain political considerations upon which I need not dilate which make it most inadvisable. Neither linguistically nor culturally, the area can be called Punjabi; in fact, there was a substantial volume of feeling in favour of a Himachal Province consisting of Himachal Pradesh and the Garhwal portion of UP. All this area would have been homogeneous, but for obvious reasons, this could not be implemented. For the present at least, I see no alternative to treat Himachal Pradesh as a separate unit of administration under a separate Head.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai. Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

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Simla-E
26 October 1949

My dear Sardarji,

You would probably remember that last year I requested for the appointment of the Governor of East Punjab as Lieutenant Governor for Himachal Pradesh as well. You, however, did not consider it advisable to upset the arrangements already made, and said that Shri Mehta should carry on as Chief Commissioner. I understand that Shri Mehta is going to be relieved of his charge very shortly, and I take this opportunity to repeat my previous suggestion. Although we discuss matters at the meetings of the Joint Advisory Council, yet, at times, it becomes very difficult to arrive at agreed decisions. I think it would smoothen matters if the Governor of the East Punjab is appointed to act as Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh, and I request you to give the matter a sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister, India
New Delhi

New Delhi
29 October 1949

My dear Gopichand,

Please refer to your letter dated 26 October 1949 regarding Himachal Pradesh.

I regret it is not possible to accept the proposal. I have already explained the reasons earlier and those reasons are still valid.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Premier
Government of East Punjab
Simla

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
26 March 1949

His Highness Rajpramukh
Saurashtra Government
Rajkot

ON THE OCCASION OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE BAM-
BIAN PROJECT I SEND YOUR HIGHNESS AND PEOPLE OF SAURASHTRA
MY BEST WISHES. NEED FOR SUCH PROJECTS IN AREAS IN WHICH NATURE
IS NOT SO OUTWARDLY BOUNTIFUL IS OBVIOUS. BOTH IN LOCAL AND
ALL INDIA INTERESTS WE HAVE TO HARNESS FORCES OF NATURE TO
SERVICE OF MANKIND. THAT SAURASHTRA GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE
UNDERTAKEN WITHIN A LITTLE MORE THAN ONE YEAR TWO OF SUCH
PROJECTS IS TESTIMONY TO ITS REGARD FOR PUBLIC WEAL AND KEEN
SENSE OF URGENCY OF EFFORTS TO AMELIORATE CONDITIONS OF
PEASANTRY AND INCREASE COUNTRY'S FOOD RESOURCES. MAY SUCH
PROJECTS MULTIPLY RAPIDLY AND BRING PLENTY AND PROSPERITY
TO RURAL AREAS IS MY EARNEST WISH AND PRAYER.

VALLABHBHAI

Rajkot
29 April 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dy. Prime Minister
New Delhi

SAURASHTRA GOVT LAYING FOUNDATION STONE NEW REFUGEE VILLAGE NAMED SINDHAPUR IN JUNADADI AREA ON 1 PROXIMO. YOUR MESSAGE ON THIS OCCASION WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED BY REFUGEES AND SAURASHTRA GOVT. HOPE SAME WILL BE RECEIVED IN TIME CARE REFUGEE MINISTER RAJKOT.

SAMALDAS GANDHI
REFUGEE MINISTER

Jamnagar
5 July 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Your letter dated 3 June 1949 was surprisingly enough received in Jamnagar only yesterday. The envelope is in a dirty condition and might have been tampered with. I have preserved it.

2. As Dhebar came here the same evening (to discuss his new legislation regarding landlords and tenants), I handed over the application of Ba Shri Hiraba Dholeravala, Dowager Rani Sahiba of Wadhwan, to him for consideration.

3. It would appear from the information sent by His Highness of Wadhwan that her jiwai was fixed at Rs. 300 (rupees three hundred) per month by the Political Agent in 1910. The present ruler raised it to Rs. 500 (rupees five hundred) per month by his order dated 29 January 1948. You will notice that the increment was given after the signing of the covenant. It is true that she claims that at the time when she was receiving Rs. 300 per month she received also certain free amenities such as milk, chowkidar, carriage, electric light, fuel, etc. This claim is probably true, but

all these facts have been taken into consideration by the committee (consisting of the Chief Secretary and my Secretary), which was appointed at the Jamnagar conference held in January 1949 and the committee has recommended that she should be paid jiwai at Rs. 300 (rupees three hundred) per month only. However, as I have stated, I have handed over the application to Dhebar, and I shall write to you again communicating our final views in the matter. I assure you, however, that if the jiwai can to any extent be increased, we shall do it.

Yours sincerely,
Digvijaysinghji

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Dehra Dun
11 July 1949

My dear Jam Saheb,

Thank you for your d.o. dated 5 July 1949.

I leave the question of jiwai for the Dowager Rani Sahiba of Wadhwan to you and Dhebar.

I shall be glad if you will kindly send the envelope to me, so that, if necessary, I may have enquiries made.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja
Jam Saheb of Nawanagar
Rajpramukh, Saurashtra Union
Jamnagar

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New Delhi
21 December 1949

My dear Morarji,

We have received complaints from certain rulers of Saurashtra who have their private properties in Bombay that the Government of Bombay are not releasing those properties from management. It appears that the property was taken over under management by the Bombay Government at the instance of the Saurashtra Government; but now that the question of private

property is settled, despite representations from the Saurashtra Government and the Regional Commissioner the Bombay Government have decided not to release them and propose to take the villages under their own management. If it is your policy, and if you propose to apply that policy uniformly so as to take over villages for management from all intermediaries, the position is understandable; but if you are singling out the rulers I am afraid you will have to reconsider the matter. We cannot discriminate in this matter between rulers and others. I should be glad if you would kindly let me know about the position.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Morarji Desai
Home Minister
Govt. of Bombay
Bombay

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TELEGRAM

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Pilani

AS PART OF THE SETTLEMENT OF PRIVATE PROPERTIES OF SAURASHTRA RULERS WE HAVE ALLOWED THEM TO RETAIN CERTAIN VILLAGES SITUATED IN BOMBAY PROVINCE AS PRIVATE PROPERTY. BEFORE PRIVATE PROPERTY WAS SETTLED THESE WERE TAKEN OVER UNDER MANAGEMENT BY BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AT THE INSTANCE OF SAURASHTRA GOVERNMENT. IN SPITE OF LETTER FROM SAURASHTRA GOVERNMENT AND THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER BOMBAY GOVERNMENT DO NOT PROPOSE TO LET THE RULERS CONCERNED HAVE THE MANAGEMENT OF THESE VILLAGES AND PROPOSE TO TAKE THEM OVER UNDER THEIR OWN MANAGEMENT UNDER BOMBAY LEGISLATION. RECOMMEND THAT WE STRONGLY URGE UPON MORARJIBHAI THAT SUCH ACTION WILL BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY RULERS IN GENERAL WHEN IT IS ESPECIALLY DIRECTED AGAINST VILLAGES HELD BY RULERS AND AS NOT PART OF A POLICY OF UNIFORMITY APPLICABLE AND THAT THE VILLAGES SHOULD BE HANDED BACK TO RULERS WHO WILL OF COURSE BE BOUND BY BOMBAY TENANCY LEGISLATION. WE HAVE RECEIVED MANY LETTERS FROM RULERS AND THE RAJPRAMUKH AND THERE IS STRONG FEELING ABOUT THESE.

MEYON STATESIND

Lallgarh
Bikaner
Rajputana
29 March 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I am writing this letter to you to place you in possession of the reasons and circumstances which led to my not being able to accept the invitation of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to be present at the ceremony of the inauguration of Rajasthan on 30 March. As I told Mr. V. P. Menon on the telephone yesterday evening, when I decided not to attend the ceremony I, at the same time, decided to write a personal letter to you explaining the position so that there should be no room for misunderstanding between us on this point.

2. At the outset let me assure you that my decision not to be present at the function was not actuated by any feelings of pique and I would never be capable of doing anything which would be tantamount to showing the least disrespect towards such an eminent and revered statesman and one of India's noblest sons like you. Apart from that, the very cordial relations which exist between us personally would in itself have normally prompted me to attend the function at which you were going to preside.

3. I consider that I have done my duty in agreeing to the formation of Rajasthan by the integration of my State and as a mark thereof in signing the covenant and in handing over the administration on 7 April. I have put no impediment in its formation; on the contrary I have tried to persuade those from the public who were prepared to indulge in anti-integration activities, so that the new Rajasthan Union may come about as peacefully as possible. It was without a murmur that I made the supreme sacrifice, in one stroke, of dissolving the entity of my ancient State which my forefathers had handed down to me, as also effacing my own position as Ruler and that of my successors. I feel I can legitimately claim that no Ruler has given more unstinted support to the problem of integration of our States than I have when I came to the conclusion that this step became necessary in the interests of our mother country as a whole.

4. Over and above this, it is with legitimate pride that I look upon what little service that fell to my lot to do in the cause of ensuring the stability and solidarity of India—our mother country—in leading the Princes into the Constituent Assembly in the first instance and, secondly, accession to the Union. These services, I am happy to feel, you fully appreciate. Therefore, my absence has nothing to do with the formation of the Rajasthan Union, and there should be no room for any misunderstanding on the point that because I am not attending the function I am doing so in a spirit of antagonism or opposition to the formation of the Union of Rajasthan. If you so desire, I am prepared to issue a suitable statement [to] the Press to the effect that the formation of Greater Rajasthan I consider to be in the greater interests of India.

5. *One of the main reasons leading to my not being present at the function is the human side of it. Bikaner State has been built up and handed down from generation to generation by my ancestors, I being the twenty-second in the direct line of succession. The land is saturated with our blood and so is every drop of the blood that runs in my veins and those of my descendants inalienably inseparable from Bikaner: in fact, Bikaner State has been the very breath of our nostrils. To my people also Bikaner, their land of birth, means much, built up as it has been by the common efforts of their ancestors and mine. It is, therefore, hoped that the profound nature and magnitude of our sacrifice will be appreciated and realised, as I know you do yourself and as your many utterances clearly show.*

6. These ties of blood extending over the last five centuries have been severed at one stroke. It is therefore but natural that as far as I and my family are concerned this can be no occasion for rejoicing, but one of deep sorrow: in fact, mourning. It is true that my feelings of affection and patriotism for India, our mother country, have outweighed such personal feelings and led me to decide to give up this sacred trust handed down to me by my forefathers which we have valued and cherished to the highest extent. Let me also assure you that I shall ever be ready to do my little bit and to work for the greater good of Rajasthan and India. Moreover, my presence in Jaipur is not required by virtue of my holding any office.

7. There are one or two other points which I would prefer to explain personally and which I will do when I come to Delhi on 2 April.

Hoping that this finds you fit and well and with kindest regards and all good wishes and with expressions of my gratitude for all the courtesy, kindness and real understanding that I have always received at your hands; and I need hardly say that I have looked upon you not only as one of the greatest of India's patriots, but a real friend to whom I could always turn for advice and assistance.

Yours very sincerely,
Sadul Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Lallgarh
Bikaner
Rajputana
20 October 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have read with genuine pleasure your grand statement in the Constituent Assembly on 12 October concerning the process of the integration of the States. But for the stand taken by you and the lucid and succinct manner in which you have dealt with the various aspects of the matter, the position might well have been very different with catastrophic results to the Princes. May I be permitted to say that the very noble part played by you personally in championing our cause in the manner that you have done has deeply moved every one of us and will be a matter of the warmest congratulations and indebtedness on the part of all Rulers? As for myself these feelings of gratitude flow genuinely from the bottom of my heart.

You have always fully appreciated the magnitude of our sacrifices whereby we have given up our all in the wider interests of our mother country. Your statement has no doubt cleared the minds of the public not only in regard to our patriotism for India but in regard to the correct position concerning ourselves and the integration of our States and the obligations that lie upon India to fulfil its pledges towards us.

In this fast changing world, when the trend of events is such as to view lightly the pledges and assurances given, the following passages from your statement, if I may quote it, will, apart from allaying the apprehensions of the Princes, go down in history—

"Let us do justice to them: let us place ourselves in their position and then assess the value of their sacrifice. The Rulers have now discharged their part of the obligations by transferring all ruling powers and by agreeing to the integration of their States. The main part of our obligation under these agreements is to ensure that the guarantees given by us in respect of privy purse are fully implemented.

"The minimum which we could offer to them as quid pro quo for parting with their ruling powers was to guarantee to them privy purses and certain privileges on a reasonable and defined basis."

In conclusion may I say that you have not only proved a real friend of the Princes, which we knew was the case all along but the best champion that we could have had to uphold the cause of right, justice and fairplay and to whom we could look up to for the implementation of the pledges and guarantees given to us?

I sincerely trust that in spite of the heavy calls of duty you are keeping well, and with kindest regards and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Sadul Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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2 April 1949

Respected Sardar Sahib,
Jai Hind.

In your speech at Jaipur what you said about Congressmen will, I am afraid, result in the weakening of the Congress in Rajasthan. You have not even uttered a single word of praise for all their good work in the States. On the contrary, you have publicly vilified them. Its repercussions, in my opinion, will be as follows:

1. Those feudal elements who are proving harmful to the interests of the nation will get encouragement and support and the Congress will meet its doom in the coming elections.

2. People will lose faith in the Congress and its Governments.

3. Feudalism is bound to perish one day. But with the weakening of the Congress the Socialists and the Communists

will gain ground, and that will be ruinous to the forces of nationalism.

Your statements, in fact, are only lending support to non-Congress elements. I have always resented such statements on your part. This, however, is not to say that you may not bring home to us any of our mistakes. You have every right to chastise or even to rebuke us. But sitting in a corner of your house, when you so denounce us publicly, it only helps the opposite camp, and that cuts us to the quick. I can speak for certain that your statements have equally hurt many others. While I have thought it proper to pour out my bitterest resentment before you, others are doing it in different ways. The thought is gaining ground that if this were the reward of all their work in the most trying situations of the States, why do they care? Surely such a course will not affect the ranks of those who are seeking power but will certainly detract from you many an old worker. Possibly, you may have new adherents and their numbers may be larger. Still, I have doubts on this score.

At the inauguration ceremony of the Union of Rajasthan what a gorgeous display it was in front and by the side of you of the Jaipur State flags and of the plethora of royal exhibits. Even a common State official was shown more solicitude than even the erstwhile Congress Premier of a State! And not content with it, you have had pointed thrusts at us publicly. This leads me to the only conclusion that you did it all to elate the Maharaja of Jaipur. To please him, you thought you could well afford to ignore us. I too am an admirer of the tactful and the most amiable behaviour of the Maharaja of Jaipur. But in going that far, the Congress has been utterly let down. This has hurt me indeed. You are like a father to me. I have, therefore, given vent to my anger and resentment without any reserve. I know you will not cherish it. But let me be rash and outspoken than to suppress myself within.

On the matter of the capital too, if not yourself, either Menon, Birla or Krishnamachari had already given a word of promise to the Jaipur Prince. So actually spoke Menon to Gokulbhai or Shastriji. I, therefore, thought that the report of the capital committee was only a camouflage to garb your commitment.

I have deliberately been most frank and outspoken with you in laying bare what I felt so intensely. I address this to Sardar

Vallabhbhai Patel alone. It is *not meant for the Deputy Prime Minister nor for his trusted lieutenants!*

Yours,
Jainarain Vyas

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[Original in Hindi]

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New Delhi
25 April 1949

My dear Jainarain Vyas,

I received your letter some time ago, but I felt it was so completely undeserving of a reply that I did not bother to send one so far. On further consideration, however, and in the light of your activities since then, I thought I had better send one in order that you may not be in any doubt as to the reception which your letter deserved.

You seem to have so much overweening confidence in your own honesty that you deem the world to be dishonest and of fraudulent intentions. In your letter you have doubted the honesty of everybody, of the committee appointed on the question of the capital, of my Secretaries and Advisers, of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, of the Maharaja of Jaipur and of Ghanshyamdasji Birla. You have been kind enough to spare me directly, though indirectly you seem to suggest that either I am a fool or a knave, i.e., either I am completely led by others or I do things in a manner which is the reverse of straightforward. The ludicrousness of this is obvious and it is impossible to convince or deal with a person of this mentality or this outlook. You seem to have forgotten that, whenever you were in difficulties in Jodhpur, it was our intervention that saved you and that on several occasions you exhibited almost a cringing attitude to or made concessions to the ruler which our intervention succeeded in retrieving. You know full well that whatever was done about the constitution of Rajasthan was done in full consultation with you. *The decisions in regard to some matters were left to me by all four of you and when I exercised that discretion, according to my judgment, you seem to imagine or get hallucinations that the judgment was exercised on account of this influence or the other, this commitment or the other.*

I have been following your activities since the inauguration of the Union. I do not propose to interfere with them because I am convinced that sooner or later you will find that you are mistaken and are following a completely wrong path. The sooner you realise it the better.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Jainarain Vyas
C/o The Congress Committee
Jodhpur

CHAPTER XII
BORDER STATES INTEGRATION

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New Delhi
6 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose copy of a letter from Jaya Prakash Narayan which I showed you this morning. This relates to Pandit Baleshwar Dayal. I trust you will ask the States Ministry to enquire into this matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

LETTER DATED 30 MARCH 1949, (ON THE TRAIN TO DEHRI-ON-SONE)
FROM SHRI JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN TO PANDIT NEHRU

You probably know Pandit Baleshwar Dayal. He comes from the UP and has been working for the last 12 years among the Bhils of Central India and Rajputana. He has an ashram at Bamanua (BB & CI) near Ratlam. From all accounts his work among the Bhils has been of an outstanding merit and he has won their universal love and admiration: he is known among them as Mamaji. A unique feature of his work has been that he has trained Bhils themselves to be his co-workers.

Since the advent of freedom, Pandit Baleshwar Dayal had been carrying on a campaign for the control and abolition of jagirdari. His campaign succeeded so far that after the Deputy Prime Minister of the Madhya Bharat Government had seen him it was announced that in the whole of the Bhil area the Government would forthwith take over the functions of the jagirdars who would have nothing to do with the tenants, the latter dealing directly with the Government. Soon after, the Rajasthan Government too announced a similar policy. This was a great victory for Panditji, and this was not liked by the power-managers of the Congress in this part of the world.

Baleshwar Dayal on his part went ahead with his work. Strangely enough his prohibition work was frowned upon by the authorities; and one of the strangest things I have seen happening in Free India is the drink campaign set afoot among the Bhils after the arrest of Panditji under official patronage and not a little of coercion!

Pandit Baleshwar Dayal was forced soon after the victory of his anti-jagirdari campaign to launch an agitation against certain newly imposed taxes on grass, firewood and timber. These taxes, I have been told, leave only two alternatives to the Bhils: either to take to thieving or to starve. This is probably an exaggeration. But I have no doubt that the effect of these taxes will be to break up Bhil economy—what little there exists of it—and expose a good part of their economic life to the depredations of outside contractors and open up great opportunities to petty forest officials to mulct the poor Bhils. It was at the height of this agitation that Baleshwar Dayal was invited by the Minister concerned to Udaipur for discussion. When he went there in response on February 3, he was put under arrest and sent to Tonk prison! For the first two days he was given no food in the prison.

Having gone into the matter carefully, I have no doubt that the Rajasthan Government has no cause whatever to put Panditji in prison. He has been shut up either because his strong criticism of the Government and his growing influence were too much for the little fellows who are in power; or because of a personal grudge that Manikyalal Varma bears him.

It is a great pity that when we have the opportunity now to put into practice all the fine things we used to say about tribal and depressed peoples, we are ourselves becoming the instruments of their exploitation by soulless money-grabbers.

The continued detention of Pandit Baleshwar Dayal is a crime against freedom and the simple Bhils. I do not know whom else to write but you in a matter like this. I hope you will take steps to have him set at liberty. The Madhya Bharat Government, I am told, has nothing against him. His ashram, by the way, is within the territory of Madhya Bharat. The District Officer of Banswara, in a recent letter to Baleshwar Dayal, praised his work among the Bhils and said there was great reformation visible of their life on account of his efforts.

Several Congress committees, notable among them the Ratlam Congress Committee, have passed resolutions condemning the arrest of this selfless man.

New Delhi
6 April 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 6 April 1949 regarding Pandit Baleshwar Dayal. I had no clear recollection of the facts when you talked to me in the morning. I now find that the facts are as under:

I am afraid the picture is not as bright as painted by Jaya Prakash. In fact, subsequently, both the Madhya Bharat Government and the Rajasthan Government reported that his activities were prejudicial and were leading to breaches of the law and a definite "No Rent" campaign was being encouraged. I took up the matter some time ago and the Rajasthan Government decided to release him. I understand that he has already been released. There is nothing more to be done.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

Manik Bagh Palace
Indore
12 April 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I would very much like to meet you for your kind help and advice as regards a few personal matters which are of some urgency. Would you please fix some time for this purpose during the next 6 or 7 days when I could come up to Delhi to meet you? I am also writing to Mr. Menon with whom I wish to discuss a few matters and should be obliged if it could be so arranged that I could meet him on the same day before or after seeing you.

I do trust you received my telegram which I sent to you when the nation rejoiced on your escape from a terrible mishap.

With every warm wish,

Yours very sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
13 April 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 12 April 1949.

2. I shall be very glad to see you at 9 a.m. on 18 April. I understand from Menon that 18th will suit him also.

3. Yes, I received your Highness' telegram of congratulations but, I am afraid, due to my many preoccupations I have not yet been able to acknowledge it. I would have sent a separate letter, but now that an opportunity has arisen, I should like to say how deeply touched I was at the solicitude exhibited by Your Highness and kind sentiments which you have expressed.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja Sir
Yeshwant Rao Holkar
Maharaja of Indore
Indore

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TELEGRAM

Indore
14 April 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

MANY THANKS YOUR KIND LETTER OF THIRTEENTH INSTT. REACHING
DELHI BY AIR EIGHTEENTH MORNING TO MEET YOU AT 9 A.M.
RESPECTS.

MAHARAJA HOLKAR

New Delhi
30 April 1949

Dear Madam,

Thank you for your letter of 27 April 1949 addressed to Sardar Patel and your very kind invitation to come and have tea with you.

He is very sorry that due to his very short stay and in view of his already full programme, it will not be possible for him to accept it.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Her Highness Maharani Indirabai Holkar
Lalbagh Palace
Indore

TELEGRAM

Indore
10 May 1949

V. P. Menon
New Delhi

AS ADVISED BY THE MINISTRY OF STATES THE CARETAKER MINISTRY CONSISTING OF FIVE MINISTERS INCLUDING PREMIER HAVE BEEN SWORN IN TODAY 12.30 AFTERNOON. THE PROVISIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PORTFOLIO IS: SHRI VIJAYAVARGIYA GENERAL ADMINISTRATION; SHRI TRIMBAKRAO GOKHALE LABOUR, DEVELOPMENT, MEDICAL HEALTH AND COMMUNICATION; SHRI NANDLAL JOSHI LAW AND REVENUE; SHRI GANDVIYA FINANCE, COMMERCE AND CIVIL SUPPLIES; SHRI RAMESHWARDAYAL TOTLA HOME, CUSTOMS AND PWD. KINDEST REGARDS.

RAJPRAMUKH
MADHYA BHARAT

Camp Windmere
New Cuffe Parade
Colaba, Bombay
7 October 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have been in Bombay for some little time staying with my mother and convalescing after a recent illness. Recently, when I was able to move about a little, I tried to contact your residence more than once by telephone through my secretary as I so much wanted to come and pay my respects and enquire about your health. Unfortunately, each time it was not possible to get any response. When I read one morning that you had left I was so disappointed that I was not able to meet you. Please accept my apologies and my heartiest good wishes for your complete recovery and good health. This is the constant prayer of your countrymen, in which I join most ardently.

With every good wish for your continued good health.

Yours very sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
11 October 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 7 October 1949.

During the time that Your Highness made enquiries about seeing me, unfortunately I was very busy.

I hope Your Highness is better. You must look after yourself.



SARDAR PATEL CHATTING WITH SIR ARCHIBALD NYE, UK HIGH
COMMISSIONER IN INDIA, AT PALAM AIRPORT IN APRIL 1949



SARDAR PATEL ADDRESSING THE INTUC SESSION WHICH HE INAUGURATED IN MAY 1949 AT INDORE.
G. L. NANDA AND KHANDUBHAI DESAI ARE SEATED TO HIS LEFT

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja
Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar
Windmere
New Cuffe Parade
Colaba, Bombay

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TELEGRAM

From Foreign New Delhi
To Regional Commissioner, Madhya Bharat, Gwalior

FROM VELLODI TO RAU. WE HAVE RELIABLE INFORMATION THAT COLONEL NEDOU ADC OF MAHARAJA OF INDORE PROPOSES IN COLLUSION WITH THE AMERICAN MAHARANI OF INDORE TO SMUGGLE OUT PERSONAL JEWELLERY. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT MAHARANI WILL PERSUADE MAHARAJA TO PERMIT HER TO FLY TO SRINAGAR WITH NEDOU IN HIS NEW BONANZA AEROPLANE RECENTLY PURCHASED AND FITTED WITH EXTRA PETROL TANK ON FIRST NOVEMBER. THE PLANE IS LIKELY TO BE PILOTED BY ONE MR. PECK OF INDAMAR LIMITED. FROM SRINAGAR ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE TO FLY JEWELLERY OUTSIDE INDIA THROUGH PAKISTAN. PLEASE MAKE IMMEDIATE SECRET ENQUIRIES AND IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PREVENT FLIGHT ARRANGE FOR SEARCH OF THE PLANE BEFORE TAKING OFF THROUGH RESPONSIBLE OFFICERS. YOUR PRESENCE ON THE OCCASION WILL BE ADVISABLE.

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TELEGRAM

Nagpur
22 October 1949

Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

HAVE WIRED HONBLE PREMIER MADHYA BHARAT. QUOTE CENTRAL PROVINCES IS REALLY MADHYA BHARAT. NEIGHBOURING INDIAN STATES IN CONTRADISTINCTION WITH CENTRAL PROVINCES WERE CALLED
S C.-VIII-33

CENTRAL INDIA. UNION OF CENTRAL INDIA STATES COMPRISING PRESENT MADHYA BHARAT REALLY LIES IN HISTORIC REGION OF MALWA. MALWA OR MAHA MALWA IS MORE APPROPRIATE NAME FOR MADHYA BHARAT UNION. KINDLY CONSIDER PROPOSAL TO CHANGE YOUR UNION NAME TO MAHA MALWA AND ALLOW CENTRAL PROVINCES TO ADOPT NAME MADHYA BHARAT WHICH THIS PROVINCE REALLY IS. KINDLY WIRE DECISION TO JUBBULPORE BY 26 OCTOBER AS CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY HAS TO BE INFORMED CHANGE IN NAME. UNQUOTE. SHALL BE GRATEFUL IF YOU APPROVE AND SUGGEST MADHYA BHARAT UNION TO ACCEDE TO OUR REQUEST AS FAR AS POSSIBLE.

PREMIER SHUKLA

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TELEGRAM

22 October 1949

Premier Shukla
Nagpur

YOUR TELEGRAM OF TWENTY SECOND REGARDING CHANGE OF NAME. MADHYABHARAT IS NAME RECOGNISED IN COVENANT ENTERED INTO BY PRINCES AND GUARANTEED BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. CHANGE WOULD THEREFORE REQUIRE CONSENT OF PRINCES AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME GIVE INDIVIDUAL APPROVAL TO THE MATTER. NOR DOES IT SEEM POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY APPRECIABLE ADVANCE IN CONSIDERATION OF THIS PROPOSAL BEFORE THE DUE DATE. MUCH REGRET DISAPPOINTING REPLY BUT AM SURE YOU WILL APPRECIATE DIFFICULTIES.

VALLABHBHAI

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Calcutta
13 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have spoken to you already about Cooch Behar and have shown you certain papers regarding that subject. . . . I would like you to take up these two cases and their accession to the West Bengal Government.

I am very anxious about Cooch Behar because of certain developments which have taken place there affecting the security

not merely of West Bengal but also of the Indian Union. I cannot say more at this stage but when I see you next time I will tell you about it.

Yours sincerely,
B. C. Roy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister, India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 April 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 April 1949. Both Cooch Behar and Tripura are a difficult problem. My mind is less uncertain about Cooch Behar than about Tripura. Tripura has got no contiguity with West Bengal and no affinity with Assam. The example of East and West Pakistan is not apposite; on the other hand, it is a warning. The fact that East Pakistan adjoins Tripura and is contiguous not to West Bengal but to Assam with which it has no affinity makes it much more of a Dominion concern. The State is also a deficit administration; its finances are poor, administrative machinery weak and communications bad. The Centre has already given substantial assistance in the development of its road connection with Assam.

These are all the points which we shall have to consider before deciding its future. I am sure you will agree that the problem is not easy of solution.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy
Premier, Government of West Bengal
Calcutta

Government House
Calcutta
23 June 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I hope the change at Dehra Dun has given you the much needed rest and has improved your health. Dehra Dun climate used to be much more pleasant in 1911 when I visited it for the first time. It has now become much warmer and therefore less bracing with deforestation.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have sent to Rajaji about Cooch Behar for your information and consideration.

With respectful regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. N. Katju

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT

Government House
Calcutta
23 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

In view of the fact that questions about Travancore, Cochin, Rampur, Banaras and Tehri Garhwal have now been settled, I presume that a final decision about Cooch Behar will not be much delayed. An early announcement would seem to be desirable.

Yours sincerely,
K. N. Katju

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

Dehra Dun
26 June 1949

My dear Katju,

Thank you for your letter of 23 June 1949.

2. I am glad to have your views on the question of Cooch Behar. From all evidence, independent as well as otherwise, it seems that merger with West Bengal is locally unpopular. It is a difficult problem and we will have to think hard about it lest we should provoke an unpleasant local situation.

3. Dehra Dun has lately been very warm and I am afraid my health has not benefited much from the change. There was a slight setback some time ago, but I am getting over it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri K. N. Katju
Governor, West Bengal
Calcutta

Jorhat
Assam
10 May 1949

Revered Sardarji,

I am sorry I could not write to you earlier as I was busy touring in the interior of the province.

I have no doubt that you have given your best consideration to affairs on this Manipur-Burma frontier and the appointment of Major-General Rao Bahadur Omor Singh as Dewan of Manipur State heralds a policy of co-ordination and integration. But I have to confess to a feeling that you were not fully and correctly apprised of the situation obtaining here in this centre, which feeling I directly and indirectly expressed more than once before this and that Shri Bardoloi is also not perfectly instructed about men and matters in this area.

From a careful study of international affairs, it appears almost certain that the danger, if it ever comes to India, is likely to

come from this Burma border. Now, what sort or type of people we have in our Eastern frontier and how we have been dealing with these people till now?

Nagas of various clans under different names, Kukies, separating themselves into Khuls, Kurmis or Mizos etc., and Lushais mainly inhabit these border regions between Assam and Burma.

The Nagas are a proud, freedom-loving, sensitive race. Generally they are good friends and treacherous enemies. A section of educated Nagas in Naga Hills (in Assam) once early in 1947 thought of independent existence, but later having understood the futility of such efforts, they have now given up such ideas and insisted on local autonomy inside India. If you will kindly look to a map of this area it will be found that the Mao Nagas live in the territory adjoining Indian Naga Hills, but included in Manipur. These Naga territories did not formerly belong to Manipur but were included as a gift from the British. These Mao Nagas do not want to be with Manipur but seek to join their own people, i.e. Naga Hills. Daiho, their leader, is under detention under Regulation III of 1818. I am of the considered opinion that it was a wicked act to fire on the non-violent and peaceful Mao Nagas at the time of arresting Mr. Daiho. Similarly, the Maram Nagas also want to join the Indian Naga Hills and they do not want to be tagged on to the backward Manipur State [which] did not till now care at all for the improvement of the Hills people.

In a detailed discussion I hope to be able to convince you that there is no justification for tagging these Maos and Marams to Manipur State and from all considerations these should be added, in pursuance of their own desire, to Naga Hills District of India. I also submit that Daiho should be set free. His conduct and actions are not detrimental to India. He will be a help to us and not a handicap.

The Tankhul Nagas and the Kacha Nagas have also grown less friendly to India of late. These Hills people require sympathetic and understanding treatment. It can be definitely said that due to a faulty policy pursued by the late Governor of Assam almost all the Hills people in these frontier areas have grown either unfriendly or less friendly.

The Mizos similarly want to join their own people in the Lushai Hills in India. I think this should, to our advantage, be granted. This will only be a natural process as against the present unnatural and enforced combination.

The Burma Communists are regularly contacting Lushai Hills. A good road connecting the interior of Lushai Hills with India is an immediate and imperative necessity. Burmans have contact directly and we are out of touch for all practical purpose. It may be carefully noted that some of the Hills tribes around Imphal Plain have grown so bitter with this State that they will join anybody or any party if only this will, in their opinion, help to sever their connection with the State. They are much misunderstanding us, India, in this context.

With a Communist uprising in our bordering Burma and a hostile Pakistan, our problems in these our bordering Hills States are getting more complicated and difficult. To cite one out of a hundred, people of our Khasi States bordering on Pakistan have to pay prohibitive tax if they take their produce viz. pan, oranges etc. to sell in the neighbouring Pakistan market, and we have not the suitable means of communications to market these products in India at a reasonable price.

The British systematically followed a policy of keeping the Hills people in isolation and segregation and they succeeded in this. The British also enjoyed tremendous prestige amongst all these Hills people. This was one of the main causes of the Allied victory in this frontier.

These Hills people look upon us, plains people, with suspicion. This is due to various reasons. But we have to be able to disarm this suspicion and to draw them to us as good friends. This we can do only by rendering sincere service. Roads, schools and hospitals are to be extended as quickly as possible into these areas. The policy of an unhealthy mixture of misplaced appeasement, arrogance and disintegration, hitherto pursued, should be absolutely given up and, instead, one of service, friendship and firmness may be adopted. Otherwise these hills, full of virile people, arms and ammunitions—the latter a legacy of the last war—promise to be a very dangerous breeding ground and spring board for foreign ideologies and interest.

This letter has already grown long and to develop the details will make a sizeable book. Hence I cut it short and place myself at your disposal for discussion.

Hoping this will find you in health and cheers and with best wishes and kind regards,

Respectfully yours,
Debeshwar Sarmah

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Dehra Dun
18 May 1949

My dear Debeshwar Sarmah,

Thank you for your letter of 10 May 1949 about the affairs on the Manipur-Burma frontier.

I am afraid you seem to be under a great misapprehension if you feel that I am not fully and correctly apprised of the situation. I have a feeling that you seem to think that the only expert on these problems is yourself, and apparently this opinion of yourself is based on a few months as our Agent in Manipur. Rather than take the trouble of your coming all the way here for discussions, it would be best for you to have a talk with your own Governor, who knows fully my mind on this subject and has himself studied the problem carefully and assiduously.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Debeshwar Sarmah
President, APCC
and Member Congress Working Committee
Jorhat (Assam)

TELEGRAM

Shillong
17 May 1949

Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

RESOLUTION. PASSED AT A JOINT SITTING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ASSAM CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY HELD ON 16 DECEMBER 1949 AND PRESIDED OVER BY SRI DEBESHWAR SARMAH PRESIDENT APCC. THIS COMMITTEE LEARNS WITH GREAT SURPRISE THAT AFTER CLEAR PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE PRIME MINIST

OF INDIA IN A CALCUTTA MEETING THAT THE QUESTION OF MERGER OF COOCH BEHAR WOULD BE DECIDED ACCORDING TO THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE WHICH IN THE OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE IS THE REAL DEMOCRATIC METHOD THE MERGER OF COOCH BEHAR IS GOING TO BE MADE WITH WEST BENGAL IN SPITE OF VEHEMENT PROTEST OF COOCH BEHAR PEOPLE. AS THIS MERGER INVOLVES A GREAT MATTER OF PRINCIPLE INASMUCH AS IT TOTALLY IGNORES THE PEOPLES WILL IN AN UNDEMOCRATIC WAY THIS COMMITTEE STRONGLY URGES ON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO STAY THE QUESTION OF MERGER IMMEDIATELY AND DIRECT A PLEBISCITE ON THE ISSUE WHICH WILL SATISFY ALL ON SUCH A MATTER OF GREAT PRINCIPLE. IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED THAT THE PRESIDENT APCG PRESSES THIS DEMAND FOR A PLEBISCITE BEFORE THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE IN ITS NEXT MEETING AS WELL AS BEFORE THE AUTHORITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HALADHAR BHUYAN
SECRETARY
ASSAM CONGRESS
PARLIAMENTARY PARTY

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Hotel Imperial
New Delhi
14 April 1949

Revered Sardarji,

I have finalised yesterday the agreement re: future administrative set-up of my State. Before leaving Delhi, I feel it my duty to pay my respects to you, and also to seek your advice re: certain personal post-agreement matters.

I would be grateful if you could kindly give me an opportunity to do so. I propose leaving Delhi for Bangalore in a couple of days.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade
Ruler of Sandur

Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
16 April 1949

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 14 April 1949.

I am sorry, due to my present preoccupations, it will not be possible for me to see you, but in case you have any points to suggest, it would be better if you could let me know in writing what they are and I shall see what can be done.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Srimant Yeshwant Rao Ghorpade
Raja of Sandur
Camp Hotel Imperial
New Delhi

Bellary
23 April 1949

Revered Sardarji,

I and the members of the Sandur State Legislature understand that H.H. the Ruler of Sandur has concluded an agreement with the Dominion Government on 8 April 1949 with a view to providing for the administration of Sandur State by or under the authority of the Dominion Government.

2. In this connection I wish to invite your kind attention to my representation dated 8 November 1948 (Vide letter dated 22 November 1948 from the Minister of States addressed to me) addressed to you on behalf of the members of the Sandur State Legislature representing the people of the State to the effect that "the best form of integration of the State would be to treat Sandur as a centrally administered area."

3. The reason for this is all the more insistent in view of the impending formation of Andhra province in which Bellary district

we press for your favourable consideration. Else the interests of the Karnatakis will be seriously jeopardised. Please consider.

Yours sincerely,
S. B. Shroff
Ex-Popular Minister
Sandur State Govt.

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister of States
New Delhi

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The Palace
Sandur
17 October 1949

My dear Sardarji,

I am enclosing, for favour of your information, a copy of the letter I have addressed to the States Ministry.

I would be highly grateful for your help in the matter. I depend on you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade

The Hon'ble Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

The Palace
Sandur
17 October 1949

Dear Shri Vellodi,

I note that the schedule to the Constitution of India defining the States and territories of India is under consideration.

2. I trust that in this schedule the State of Sandur will be included in that part of the schedule which enumerates the territories which are to be administered by or under the authority of the Centre. My agreement nowhere states that "I am desirous that the administration of the State (of Sandur) should be integrated with that of the province of Madras." On the contrary the preamble of my agreement reads as follows:

"Whereas in the best interests of the State of Sandur as well as of the Dominion of India it is desirable to provide for the administration of the said State by or under the authority of the Dominion Government;"

3. Although Madras may be administering the territory of Sandur at the moment, I hold that it is doing so for and on behalf of the Centre and as its Agent.

4. In the circumstances, therefore, I feel that it would be just and proper, and in keeping with the terms and spirit of my agreement to include Sandur in that part of the schedule which enumerates territories administered by the Centre. I request you to kindly give this your immediate and sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade

Shri M. K. Vellodi, ICS
Secretary to the Government of India
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
28 May 1949

His Highness Maharaja Scindia
Gwalior

OUR WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON THIS UNIQUE AND HISTORIC OCCASION OF INAUGURATION OF MALWA UNION. MAY PEACE, PROSPERITY, HAPPINESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BE CONSTANT REWARD OF SELF-SACRIFICE, SENSE OF PUBLIC DUTY AND PATRIOTISM DEMONSTRATED BY RULERS AND PEOPLE OF CONSTITUENT STATES.

VALLABHBHAI
MANIBEN
SHANKAR

"Whereas in the best interests of the State of Sandur as well as of the Dominion of India it is desirable to provide for the administration of the said State by or under the authority of the Dominion Government;"

3. Although Madras may be administering the territory of Sandur at the moment, I hold that it is doing so for and on behalf of the Centre and as its Agent.

4. In the circumstances, therefore, I feel that it would be just and proper, and in keeping with the terms and spirit of my agreement to include Sandur in that part of the schedule which enumerates territories administered by the Centre. I request you to kindly give this your immediate and sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade

Shri M. K. Vellodi, ICS
Secretary to the Government of India
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
28 May 1949

His Highness Maharaja Scindia
Gwalior

OUR WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES ON THIS UNIQUE AND HISTORIC OCCASION OF INAUGURATION OF MALWA UNION. MAY PEACE, PROSPERITY, HAPPINESS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BE CONSTANT REWARD OF SELF-SACRIFICE, SENSE OF PUBLIC DUTY AND PATRIOTISM DEMONSTRATED BY RULERS AND PEOPLE OF CONSTITUENT STATES.

VALLABHBHAI
MANIBEN
SHANKAR

[Undated]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

MADHYABHARAT IS VERY GRATEFUL TO YOUR GOODSELF BY GRANTING YOUR PRECIOUS TIME IN HEARING THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ON CAPITAL ISSUE. AS ADVISED BY YOUR GOODSELF WE TRIED OUR UTMOST TO EVOLVE AN AMICABLE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. BUT TO OUR GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT THE INDORE SPOKESMEN WERE ADAMANT AND NOT OPEN TO REASONS. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES ANYTHING UNANIMOUS IS IMPOSSIBLE. THE QUESTION CAN BE SOLVED ONLY BY YOUR BENEVOLENT INTERVENTION. THERE IS NO OTHER COURSE PRACTICAL OR POSSIBLE AS LEAVING THE QUESTION OPEN FOR NEXT ELECTION WILL SERIOUSLY BE DETRIMENTAL TO CONGRESS ORGANISATION, GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC FINANCE. WE TRIED TO CONTACT YOUR HONOUR IN DELHI BUT YOUR GOODSELF LEFT FOR DEHRA DUN. PRAY GRANT US AN INTERVIEW IN DEHRA DUN SO THAT WE MAY EXPLAIN OUR POSITION PERSONALLY.

YESHWANTSINGH KUSHWAH
DAMODARDAS NAGORY
RAMNIWAS
GAUTAM SHARMA
HARINIWAS DWIVEDI

Shillong
4 March 1949

Respected Sardarji,

The developments in the immediate border of Manipur in Burma are assuming such a dimension that I cannot but make the subject of a special reference to you. I am sending herewith a State Daily Report received by me to apprise you of the real situation. I am sure, the incidents speak for themselves so well that I need not comment on them any further. You have besides

noticed the developments in Burma. I have asked my Chief Secretary to apprise Shri Sri Prakasa of the situation and have wished that you discuss the same with him while in Delhi. But I do feel it my duty once again to mention to you my reactions [to] the situation:

(i) I feel that I am now justified in strongly objecting to Sir Akbar Hydari's removal of the Dominion Agent, whoever the actual person might have been.

(ii) I would ask once again whether for the time being it would not yet be desirable to take over the entire administration into the hands of the States Ministry. In this connection I want to mention that the Central CID sometimes suspected the Communist leader, Irabat Singh of Manipur, as having received shelter in the palace itself. It is now suspected that Irabat Singh is somewhere in Burma, acting in league with the Communists of Manipur. You have already seen what the RCP is doing in Dum Dum. I have not the slightest doubt that the present Manipur Government will not be able to do anything substantial to help the Assam Rifles or our Forces, if a serious situation arises.

(iii) Sir Akbar Hydari also gave some power to Manipur State regarding communication on the road to Manipur and to its Burma Frontier. I feel it would be suicidal to give them any power whatsoever over it. It should be completely under the administration of the Assam Government.

(iv) As a matter of State policy, I consider it dangerous to maintain a weak and vacillating State near our borders and allow them independence to act as they like.

These are only my reactions. I have no doubt that you will know how to decide the matter. But if anything is to be done, it must be done immediately. The matters have too far advanced and would not brook any delay.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

TELEGRAM

18 September 1949

From Secga Shillong
To Restis Bombay

FOR SARDAR PATEL, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, BIRLA HOUSE, BOMBAY, FROM SRI PRAKASA, GOVERNOR OF ASSAM. I HAVE SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO MENON.

BEGINS HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS HIGHNESS OF MANIPUR THIS MORNING. HH THREATENS RETURNING TO MANIPUR WITHOUT HOLDING ANY DISCUSSIONS OR SIGNING AGREEMENT. HH MUST NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO MANIPUR WITH HIS ADVISERS AND I HAVE ACCORDINGLY INSTRUCTED POLICE TO DETAIN HERE HIS PARTY IF THEY ATTEMPT TO RETURN BEFORE SIGNING OF AGREEMENT. PLEASE TELEGRAPH IMMEDIATELY REPEAT IMMEDIATELY AUTHORITY FOR DETENTION OF HH AND ADVISERS UNDER REGULATIONS III OR BY WHATEVER OTHER MEANS YOU CONSIDER MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE. HAVE ALREADY WARNED SUB-AREA TO BE PREPARED FOR ANY EVENTUALITY IN MANIPUR. GRATEFUL FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. ENDS.

WILL KEEP YOU CLOSELY INFORMED OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS [if] HERE ADDRESSED.

Government House
Shillong
4 October 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am most grateful to you for your very kind letter of 28 September that has duly reached me. It is exceedingly good of you to send me such words of encouragement and felicitation on what little I might be able to do in the service of the country and to meet your wishes. May the great ideal and objective that you have in view be fulfilled, and may you be spared long in full health and strength to guide our destinies in these critical times.

I shall now await your full instructions on the various matters I have mentioned in my previous letters to Mr. [V. P.] Menon. Yesterday's radio announced that Manipur was to be taken over on 15 October. That, I believe, is also the date for the taking over of Tripura. I think all the necessary arrangements will be made direct from Delhi; but if there should be anything to be done from this end, I am sure I shall be informed in good time.

My immediate anxiety is to know exactly how the Governor of Assam now stands in relation [to] the States which had been his charge so long. As I have already explained in my previous letters, we maintain a large office here of the Adviser to Governor, which looks after both the tribes and the States. Various arrangements and alignments may be necessary in the new set-up. It may also be necessary to hand over various documents in our possession here to new authorities. I have no doubt that detailed instructions on these points will soon be coming to me.

Hoping all is very well with you,

I am,
With respectful regards,
Yours sincerely,
Sri Prakasa

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Shillong
16 October 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

OFFER RESPECTFUL FELICITATIONS COMPLETION NOBLE EDIFICE INDIA'S
UNIFICATION. REPORTS RECEIVED CEREMONIES SUCCESSFULLY HAPPILY
PERFORMED MANIPUR TRIPURA. YOUR AUTOGRAPHED MESSAGES
RECEIVED FOURTEENTH IMMEDIATELY WIRELESSSED IMPHAL AGARTALA
REACHED IN TIME. DULY READ AT FUNCTIONS.

SRI PRAKASA

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
17 October 1949

His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa
Governor of Assam
Shillong

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM AND YOUR CONGRATULATIONS. IT HAS GIVEN ME PARTICULAR PLEASURE THAT IN FINAL STAGES OF COMPLETION OF MY TASK I HAD SUCH GOOD ASSISTANCE FROM YOU. BEST WISHES.

VALLABHBHAI

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE
MERGER OF TRIPURA ON 15 OCTOBER 1949

The State of Tripura, with its isolated situation yet occupying a position of strategic importance on the eastern borders of India, has an ancient history and a rich culture. The partition of the country has, however, brought in its train for this small State a host of problems, which, in the present state of its development, it was impossible for it to solve on its own resources. The State has potentialities and resources which, if tapped and properly exploited, would be an asset to the country. For all these reasons, the Government of India and Her Highness the Maharani Regent, acting on behalf of the minor Ruler, came to the conclusion that in the interests of the welfare of the State and of the country as a whole it was essential that the Centre should make itself directly responsible for its administration and its well-being. I am most grateful to Her Highness for having come to this agreement. Here was not an easy task in the peculiar circumstances in which she found herself. I am sure that Providence will reward her for the courage and boldness with which she has taken this decision.

To the people of Tripura, I can only say this: Though far (and remote) from the Capital city of the country, they will always claim our attention and we shall do our best to ensure that its link and connections with the mainland are strengthened and it comes nearer to us. They will not now stand alone to battle with the manifold problems that confront them. They will

have the resources and the assistance of the Centre on which they can count. With their co-operation and help we hope that we shall deal with their problems efficiently and effectively. May God bless our joint effort with success.

Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

Mysore

1 March 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

I AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR KIND MESSAGE OF 26 FEBRUARY. I MY GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF MYSORE WERE MOST HAPPY TO WELCOME YOU AMIDST US AND TO PAY OUR TRIBUTE OF PRAISE FOR YOUR WISE AND SAGACIOUS LEADERSHIP OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE DOMINION. WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR KIND REFERENCE TO THE PROGRESS THAT MYSORE IS MAKING TOWARDS THE HAPPINESS OF THE COMMON MAN AND GENERAL PROSPERITY OF THE PEOPLE. YOUR SPECIAL APPRECIATION OF THE POLICE IS MOST GRATIFYING AND WILL IMMENSELY HEARTEN THE OFFICERS AND MEN OF THAT SERVICE. I AM SPECIALLY THANKFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR KIND REFERENCE TO MYSELF.

JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR

428

Carlton House
Bangalore
5 June 1949

My dear Sardarji,

The revised instrument of accession which Mr. V. P. Menon sent has been considered. The Government of Mysore had also the opportunity of having a clarification of some of the clauses with the able assistance of Mr. Menon who came here a fortnight back. I tendered my advice to His Highness the Maharaja who has signed the new instrument. I intend to bring it with me and place it in your hands.

I have to attend a meeting of the Directors of Hindustan Aircraft at Delhi on 11 June. I hope therefore to go over to Dehra Dun on Sunday the 12th and shall be grateful for an opportunity to meet you.

There have been some changes here and certain unhealthy developments about which His Highness was greatly concerned. I shall place the facts before you when I have the opportunity. The Chief Minister has, I believe, given some idea of the position. It has been my great good fortune that I have during these months enjoyed the confidence of my colleagues in the Ministry.

With respects,

Yours very truly,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Bangalore
8 June 1949

Revered Sardarji,

I have been wanting to write to you a very detailed letter since some days past. But I did not want to disturb you with the day-to-day political developments here, since we did not expect that there would be any political crisis of any magnitude. I am sure you have known by now the one or two major happenings in the State within the last month; one relates to the abolition of the office of the Dewanship. You were aware how our minds were working regarding this matter and I brought to your kind notice our attitude in this behalf on several occasions. Now the expected has happened and the office of Dewanship is agreed to by all quarters here to stand abolished from 6 August 1949, when the present incumbent, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, lays down his office.

In our party affairs there has been some grumbling. The party has been good enough to elect me again as Leader of the Congress Party. You may please remember that when the Ministry was constituted I was commissioned by the Working Committee to form the Ministry as we had no time to consult the Legislature Party. Now 'a more democratic' procedure has been adopted with the same result. There is one aspect, however, of

these developments regarding which I will write to you later. It may perhaps be more desirable for me to speak about that in person. We are in the midst of our Budget session which commenced at the end of last month and will continue till the 7th of next month. Immediately after the session is over I shall run up to Delhi and will take an opportunity to give you a detailed report of all the happenings and set-up here.

With deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Chengalaraya Reddy

The Hon'ble Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister of States
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
11 June 1949

My dear Chengalaraya Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of 8 June 1949.

I shall await your visit to Delhi. In your letter there is hardly anything on which I can comment. When the detailed position is known, I may be able to give you some advice.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. Chengalaraya Reddy
Chief Minister
Government of Mysore
Bangalore

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TELEGRAM

Bangalore
3 October 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

HAVE RECEIVED YOUR KIND LETTER. AM COMING TO DELHI TOMORROW.
WILL ACQUAINT YOU WITH POSITION IN PERSON. RESPECTFUL REGARDS.

CHENGALARAYA REDDY

Bangalore
16 December 1949

My dear Sardarji,

When I had met you last at Delhi, I brought to your kind notice that due to the dissolution of the old House of Legislature and the creation of a new Legislative Assembly, it would be necessary for the present Ministry to resign with a view to enable the constitution of a Ministry responsible to the new Legislature. The old Houses were dissolved yesterday and the new Legislative Assembly has come into existence with effect from today. I have therefore handed over the resignation of myself and my colleagues to His Highness and His Highness has been pleased to ask us to continue till such time as he will be able to take steps to constitute a new Ministry after the election of the Leader of the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly Congress Party is meeting tomorrow for the purpose of the election of Leader.

From the indications so far, it looks as though there will be a contest for leadership. The names of Shri K. Hanumanthiah and myself are being proposed. We are trying to prevent a contest and I hope the attempt will be attended with success. I told you in person how I feel in the matter. I shall keep you informed about further developments.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Chengalaraya Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Bangalore
24 December 1949

Shri V. Shankar
Private Secretary to
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

THE FINANCE MINISTER AND LAW MINISTER ARE LEAVING 25TH MORNING BY AIR FOR DELHI FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH CHIEF MINISTER MYSORE AND SARDAR PATEL THE SAME EVENING ABOUT APPLICATION OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION TO MYSORE STATE AND OTHER MATTERS.
CHIEF SECRETARY MYSORE GOVT.

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TELEGRAM

Bangalore
25 December 1949

Shri Shankar
Private Secretary to
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MYSELF PROPOSE COMING DELHI 30TH EVENING TO MEET SARDARJI IN CONNECTION WITH MYSORE MINISTRY AND CONNECTED MATTERS. SHALL BE GRATEFUL FOR REGARDING SARDARJI'S CONVENIENCE. KIND REGARDS.

K. G. REDDY
CHIEF MINISTER MYSORE

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TELEGRAM

1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi
26 December 1949

K. C. Reddy
Chief Minister
Bangalore

YOUR TELEGRAM. SARDARJI LEAVING FOR BOMBAY ON TWENTYNINTH AND WILL NOT BE BACK TILL FIFTH JANUARY. WOULD SUGGEST YOUR SEEING HIM IN BOMBAY ON ANY CONVENIENT DATE.

SHANKAR

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TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
30 May 1949

Shri V. P. Menon
Care Premier
Puri (Orissa)

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. HM HAS SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE RULERS OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN. BEGINS. MOST GRATEFUL TO YOUR HIGHNESS FOR YOUR MESSAGE CONVEYED TO ME BY MENON. KINDLY ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS ON THE WISE AND MOMENTOUS DECISION YOU HAVE TAKEN. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT POSTERITY WILL WELCOME THIS DECISION AS THE RIGHT ONE IN THE INTERESTS ALIKE OF YOUR STATE AND THE COUNTRY. MY BEST WISHES FOR THE PEACE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF YOUR PEOPLE UNDER THE NEW SETUP. KINDEST REGARDS.

SHANKAR

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TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
30 May 1949

Shri V. P. Menon
Care Premier
Puri (Orissa)

VISIT OF HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE TO DEHRADUN
ON 5 JUNE WOULD BE ALLRIGHT.

SHANKAR

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TELEGRAM

Trivandrum
27 June 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

THE JOINT MEETING OF THE TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN CONGRESS
PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES HELD AT ALLEPPEY YESTERDAY (25 JUNE)
RESOLVED IN ITS MORNING SESSION TO COMBINE AS THE CONGRESS
PARLIAMENTARY PARTY OF THE UNITED STATE OF TRAVANCORE AND
COCHIN AND IN THE AFTERNOON SESSION THE SAID UNITED CONGRESS
PARLIAMENTARY PARTY HAVE UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED ME ITS LEADER.
REQUEST BLESSINGS.

T. K. NARAYANA PILLAI
TRAVANCORE PREMIER

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TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
28 June 1949

Shri Narayana Pillai
Premier
Trivandrum

MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ELECTION AS LEADER OF UNITED CONGRESS PARTY OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN. CONGRESS ORGANISATIONS AND MINISTRIES IN THESE STATES HAVE ESTABLISHED REPUTATION FOR SOLIDARITY AND BUSINESSLIKE EFFICIENCY. I HOPE THAT REPUTATION WILL BE KEPT UP. IN YOUR ONEROUS TASKS AND HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES YOU WILL HAVE OUR FULLEST CO-OPERATION AND I SEND YOU MY BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESSFUL STEWARDSHIP OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE NEW UNION.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Trivandrum
28 June 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for States
New Delhi

HAVE RECEIVED YOUR WARM AND HEARTENING TELEGRAM 28 JUNE. I HAVE SELECTED FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE UNITED CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY AS MY COLLEAGUES TO CONSTITUTE THE MINISTRY OF THE UNITED STATE OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN: SHRI EKKANDA WARRIER, SHRI A. J. JOHN, SHRI PANAMPILLI GOVINDA MENON, SHRI K. AIYAPPAN, SHRI E. JOHN PHILIPPOSE, SHRI N. KUNJURAMAN, SHRI T. A. ABDULLA AND MISS ANNE MASCARENE. AM INTIMATING CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD ABOUT SELECTION AND SEEKING APPROVAL. REQUEST SARDARJI KIND APPROVAL TO MY

FORMING MINISTRY OF THE UNITED STATE WITH ABOVE PERSONS AS
MINISTERS.

T. K. NARAYANA PILLAI

PREMIER

TRAVANCORE

AND LEADER UNITED CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY
PARTY OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN

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TELEGRAM

Trivandrum
29 June 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for States
New Delhi

REFERENCE MY TELEGRAM YESTERDAY 28 JUNE FORMATION OF
MINISTRY UNITED STATE TRAVANCORE COCHIN. IN VIEW OF THE
ADDITIONAL AND SPECIAL WORK CONSEQUENT ON INTEGRATION OF
THE TWO STATES I PROPOSE TAKING IN DR. E. K. MADHAVAN ALSO IN
THE MINISTRY OF THE UNITED STATE OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.
HE IS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY PARTY
AND ONE OF MY PRESENT MINISTERIAL COLLEAGUES. AM INTIMATING
CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD ABOUT SELECTION AND SEEKING
APPROVAL. REQUEST SARDARJI'S KIND APPROVAL TO THE INCLUSION
OF DR. E. K. MADHAVAN ALSO IN THE MINISTRY IN ADDITION TO THE
PERSONS WHOSE NAMES HAVE BEEN TELEGRAPHED YESTERDAY.

T. K. NARAYANA PILLAI

PREMIER

TRAVANCORE

AND LEADER UNITED CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY
PARTY OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN

MESSAGE FROM SARDAR PATEL ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE
UNITED STATE OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN

*On the inauguration of the United State of Travancore and Cochin I send
to Your Highness and through you to the people of Travancore and Cochin
my best wishes for peace, prosperity and happiness. These ancient States*

enshrine Hindu traditions and culture. At the same time, their modern administration and enlightened policies are a shining example of the wonderful adaptability and elasticity of the social and political systems which have developed under the fostering care of the two ruling dynasties. Not only the two peoples but India as a whole take pride in the happy event which is being celebrated today, for it marks the culminating point of the policy of consolidation of States, which was inaugurated by me more than eighteen months ago and which with the co-operation and assistance of the Rulers and the support and consent of the peoples of the States it has been my proud privilege to implement. It has also been my unique pleasure to find among the Princes and the people a willingness to make sacrifices in the cause of the country, that sense of public duty which only true patriots can exhibit and that realisation of the urgency and pre-eminence of country's interests which call forth the best and the truest in human beings. The Rulers of Travancore and Cochin, the two Premiers and their colleagues, and the local Congress organisations have given, by this act of union, an unmistakable proof of these virtues and the complete unity of purpose and devotion to duty thus symbolised by them are a happy augury for the success of this unique enterprise. May Providence shower its blessings on the new Union and make the people prove themselves worthy of this act of sacrifice and public weal on the part of their Rulers.

The distance of Delhi is proverbial. It is unfortunately as much a historical as a geographical fact, but I can assure His Highness the Rajpramukh and the people of the new Union that all of us will watch the future of the Union with constant care and attention and will render every assistance that the new Union may need in the realisation of its aspirations and fulfilment of its destiny. We are mindful of its vast potentialities and cognizant of its resources and requirements. Whenever a call comes to us from the Government or the people of the Union we shall do our best to help them to satisfy their legitimate needs. India today is passing through a great formative period. We shall make or mar our future during the next decade. During this period India's strength and stability would depend on the strength and toughness of its every link. It is in this sense that the need of the hour is consolidation and unity and it is in this objective that lies the justification for the policy of integration and democratisation in the States. I cannot, therefore, commend to the people of the new Union any better precept than that while pursuing the course of their own prosperity and well-being they will take into account their superior obligation to the interests of the country as a whole. May God make them proud citizens of their country and worthy inhabitants of their State.

Vallabhbhai Patel

MR. V. P. MENON'S SPEECH AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE
UNITED STATE OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN

I must in the first place convey to Your Highness and to all of you, ladies and gentlemen, the sincere regret of Sardar Patel that he is unable to be present today at this historic occasion. No one knows more than myself how much he would have liked to be present on this occasion. Circumstances have prevented this, but his heart is here now as all of you must have gathered from the message he has so kindly sent. It is his intention to visit the Union at the earliest possible opportunity, possibly at the end of August or the beginning of September.

The Union of Cochin and Travancore is no more than a formal coming together of the two States that have been and are basically one. Geographically, the two States form one compact area; their people are the same and share the same traditions. Owing to the accidents of history, these two States have been kept separately, but no one can deny that this has hampered the progress of this region. Here, as elsewhere in the country, the separate existence of small units has hampered the free growth of trade and commerce, and many of the social and economic ills of the country are due to this separatism. Culturally too, we have suffered on this account. India, our Motherland, has a great future but we all of us have to build up that future as integral parts of one country. Shortsightedness and narrow local selfish interests cannot be permitted to stand in the way of the common good of the people.

The formation of the United State of Travancore and Cochin marks the end of one phase of the Union of India, the work of integration that was started by the Ministry of State about 18 months ago. We are now entering the second phase, namely, the consolidation of the work already achieved. I have no doubt that the United State of Travancore and Cochin will occupy a foremost place in this endeavour.

Under democratic rule, it is the right of the people to review the work of their representatives at periodical intervals; but it is also the obligation of the people that once they have elected their leaders they should extend the fullest co-operation to them. We have now to forget that we belong to this side of the State or that side of the State or to this section or to that interest. There is only one United State and if that State is to be made prosperous, the condition precedent is that the people of the United State should fully co-operate with the Government and work for the common good of the common people. This Union has got great potentialities in agricultural and industrial development; and work done in this direction will lead to the prosperity of the Indian Union whose citizens we all are. With your support and co-operation I have no doubt that your new Premier and his colleagues whose sole aim is to make the Union a success will weld the United State into one flourishing and prosperous unit of the Indian Union.

Finally, I would like on behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf to convey to Your Highness, to you the Premier and to your colleagues and to the people of the Union the very best wishes for a happy and prosperous future.

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The Palace
Rampur State
10 July 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have learnt from the papers that you will soon be returning to Delhi. I hope and trust that your stay in Dehra Dun has done you a great deal of good and that you are in perfect health and greatly refreshed.

2. I should like to visit Delhi for a day to meet you, whenever convenient to you and shall be grateful if I am informed of the date suitable to you.

Trusting that this will find you in excellent health, and with kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Raza Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Dehra Dun

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Dehra Dun
13 July 1949

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Thank you for your letter dated 10 July 49.

There has been a slight setback in my health which with the aid of doctors I am getting over. They have, however, placed restrictions on my engagements and since I am in for a very busy time for the next few weeks, I am afraid it will not be possible for me to see Your Highness for some time yet.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Nawab Sir Saiyid Raza Ali Khan
Bahadur, Nawab of Rampur
Rampur

Fort Ramnagar
Benares State UP
15 July 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

I had a desire to see you earlier but as you were in your summer resort I did not like to disturb you. I have, however, just received Mr. Menon's telegram of which a copy is enclosed herewith for your kind perusal. Now I feel I must see you before entering into formal discussions of any sort, since I look up to you for helpful and sympathetic guidance on which I count greatly.

I shall, therefore, be grateful, if you kindly snatch some time for me out of your heavy engagements when I may speak to you freely and have the benefit of your valuable advice.

Trusting this finds you in the enjoyment of excellent health.
With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Vibhuti Narain Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

[Undated]

His Highness the Maharaja
Benares

I AM ANXIOUS TO MEET YOUR HIGHNESS AND SHALL BE GRATEFUL IF YOUR HIGHNESS
COULD MAKE IT CONVENIENT TO MEET ME AT DELHI ON 23 JULY.

MENON STATESIND

New Delhi
18 July 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 15 July 1949 addressed to Sardar Patel. He would be glad to see Your Highness some time on the 22nd. I shall let you know the exact time if you would kindly get in touch with me as soon as possible after your arrival in Delhi.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

His Highness the Maharaja
Sahib of Benares
Fort Ramnagar
Benares State, UP

Hindu University
Benares
21 July 1949

My dear Puja Vallabhbbhai,

His Highness the Maharaja of Benares has left for Delhi this evening in connection with the question of the future of Benares State. I write this to beg you to remember my old request to you. You will of course do what you may think fit and in the best interests of the country, but I do pray that you may be able to save the ancient name of 'Kashi Rajya' and 'Kashi Naresh' from extinction. Every Hindu and specially people in Benares will be grateful to you for it. I will not write more, for, what need can there be for any one to say anything to you about it?

Even if the Maharaja agrees to a complete merger, I hope you will not permit the abolition of this ancient name. As I have said to you, I am not concerned with the personal aspect. Nor should it be looked upon as a question of a mere Indian State. It is a matter of the greatest cultural and traditional importance to the whole of the Hindus. The names India and Kashi

Raj appear to me to be intertwined and we all look to you, Great Vallabhbhai, to perpetuate the existence of that name for ever and for ever in our Bharatvarsha.

I hope your health is all right.

With my profound regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Govind Malaviya

The Hon'ble Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

If you so desire, I can read you quotations from the Vedas and Puranas regarding Kashi.

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TELEGRAM

Benares
12 October 1949

Mr. Shankar
Secretary
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

STATES MINISTRY WIRE MAHARAJA CONFUSING PREVIOUS SIX LAKHS WITH PRESENT ONE. MAHARAJA HAS WIRED SEEKING CLARIFICATION. KINDLY HAVE [clarificatory] REPLY SENT THAT PRESENT SIX LAKHS APART FROM PREVIOUS ONE. DEPENDING ON YOUR GRATEFUL HELP, KINDLY INFORM ME ALSO.

GOVIND

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
13 October 1949

His Highness Maharaja of Benares
Nandisore Palace
Benares

YOUR HIGHNESS'S TELEGRAM OF TWELFTH, YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR ORDERS IS CONFIRMED AND ACTION MAY BE TAKEN ACCORDINGLY.

SHANKAR

Fort Ramnagar
Benares State, UP
7 September 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

The agreement was signed at Delhi on the 5th inst., of which, I believe, Mr. Menon must have duly informed you.

I have brought the idea to your kind notice and have to say nothing further about the same. If it finds favour, it may be developed and materialised in any form that may seem best to you. The matter, however, rests on your sole discretion.

This chapter having closed, I have to start a fresh career, and I should like to have your good wishes at this juncture.

I hope this finds you in a better state of health.

With my best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Vibhuti Narain Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

Government House
Shillong
27 July 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have just heard over the radio that you have decided to merge Benares State in the UP. The relations of my family with the succeeding maharajas of the State ever since the founding of the present line towards the end of the 18th century have been so intimate that I cannot help being greatly interested in the well-being of the State. The general trend of events could not but make us all prepared for the merger of this small State as well and think, as we all fondly hope, the integration of various parts of India in one great whole will be for the best.

It, however, does occur to me and I am saying this for what it may be worth that because of the peculiar position that Benares—our sacred Kashi—has held in the thought and the cultural life of the land our Government may perhaps take every possible step so that the characteristic of this State, with all the hoary tradition and antiquity that was attached to it, *may be somehow preserved*. I cannot help being personally anxious that that should be so.

Kashiraja is mentioned in the Bhagavad Gita as one of the *mighty princes present on the side of the Pandavas on the famous field of Kurukshetra*; and though the present line of the maharajas may have only started towards the end of the 18th century, and though the State may have been reduced to very small proportions by the facts of history, there is no doubt that we of Benares, even though belonging to what was the British portion of the old town and district, held the maharajas of Benares in great respect and were affectionately attached to the State even though politically we were no part of it.

I should be sorry if the very name of Kashiraja is lost. So far as the other old States go, their names are preserved, as in Rajasthan, which ensures for all time the continuance of the great name of the Rajput. I do hope that you would be able to find some way to give permanence to the name of Kashi also, not only as a part of the United Provinces but as something unique in itself. I cannot, at the spur of the moment, suggest any method; but I have no doubt that your mighty mind would be able to evolve *something that may give satisfaction to the soul*.

So far as the present Maharaja is concerned, frankly we like him very much. He is a young man of great intelligence and of understanding sympathy with his subjects. I know how hard he himself has worked in the service of his State, though so young; what a pure personal life he himself leads; and how anxious he has been to move with the times, giving to his people reform after reform ensuring political and constitutional progress. I am therefore anxious that in the new set-up he may not only be pensioned off with a fair income for his personal comfort but that his services, his time and his talents may be fully utilised for the public good. I have every confidence that he would prove worthy of any trust that may be reposed in him.

You will please pardon me if I have ventured to write on a subject with which I should ordinarily not be regarded as having any concern. It may be that I have allowed sentiment to get the

better of my reason; but I felt that as a humble servant I could with impunity place before my leader the thoughts that came uppermost to my mind as I heard the radio announcing this evening that you have taken the decision to merge Benares State with the United Provinces.

Hoping all is very well,

I am,
With respectful regards,
Yours sincerely,
Sri Prakasa

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
30 July 1949

My dear Sri Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of 27 July 1949 regarding the merger of Benares State in the UP.

I can assure you that both Pantji and myself are ourselves conscious of the position Kashi has occupied in our traditions and annals, and we shall do our best to see that the link with the past is preserved in some form or the other. How would you like the name Benares itself to be changed to Kashi?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa
Governor of Assam
Shillong

Bombay
22 August 1949

My dear Pantji,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Sri Prakasa about a suitable name for Benares. You might like to consider his suggestions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier, United Provinces
Lucknow

ENCLOSURE

Camp Pasighat
7 August 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am very grateful to you for your very kind letter of 30 July [See S. No. 451] about Benares State. I am indeed glad to be assured that the position of the sacred town as well as the status of the ruling family of the State that goes by the name of Benares, are safe in your keeping. I had no doubt of that; still as a nervous person, I ventured to encroach upon your time and attention; and I am indeed happy and relieved at the reply that you have been good enough to send me.

You kindly asked me if I would like the name of Benares itself to be changed to Kashi. Benares, as you doubtless know, is an abbreviation. I will not call it 'corruption'—of Varanasi, as the town proper is situated between the two streams—Varuna and Assi. One crosses the Varuna as one goes from the town proper to the cantonments on the one side, and crosses the Assi as one goes from the city to the Hindu University on the other. The main town of Kashi, which only means 'bright' and 'shining,' should certainly retain its name; but the name of the district itself which contains Benares State on the opposite bank of the river Ganga, should, I think, continue to be called Benares, as it has been for so long a time. I am venturing to write this for what it may be worth.

I was very much concerned to learn from the radio last night that you are in Bombay and are not quite well. I am touring in the interior and have been in the heart of the Mishmi and the Abor Hills for some days past, I have thus not seen a newspaper for some time, and have been totally depending on my travelling radio set for news. I do most earnestly hope that there is nothing seriously wrong with you, and that you will soon be restored to your full health and strength. We have been so long so completely used to look up to you for guidance in all matters that the very thought of your illness is very disconcerting. I pray that all may be well with you.

With respectful regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Sri Prakasa

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Bombay

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Bombay
13 August 1949

My dear Sri Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of 7 August 1949.

I am passing on your comments on the name of Benares to Pantji.

I am now feeling better. I have come to Bombay because of facilities for treatment as well as for rest. The doctors have examined me. There is nothing seriously wrong, and rest and treatment should do me good.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa
Governor of Assam
Government House
Shillong

Bombay
2 September 1949

My dear Kaka Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 29 August 1949.

The question of change of name of the district into Kashi Raj has already been engaging our attention. H.M. has mentioned about it to Pantji and the latter told him that he did not anticipate any difficulty. We have incorporated in the Collateral Letter a paragraph promising that if and when the name is changed the Maharaja of Benares would be known as the Maharaja of Kashi.

As regards the privy purse, I am afraid it will not be possible to include the year 1947-48. In our calculations in every covenant we have provided for the privy purse on the basis of revenue receipts for the year 1945-46, but, in deference to H.H.'s strong feelings on the subject, we have agreed to include the year 1946-47 also. We have, in reference to certain other matters as also the factors which you mention, increased the privy purse by another Rs. 15,000. I think this is the maximum that H.H. can get from us. In addition, he would be getting a sum of rupees one lakh which is paid to him by the Government of UP under the Treaty of 1794. Technically, we could have stopped this payment on the merger of the State.

H.H. was here and saw Sardar today. I have explained the position to him.

Sardar is now feeling very much better. I wish he could come to Delhi on the 7th as we had originally planned, but the weather in Delhi is not quite suitable and the doctors would also prefer that he stays on here to consolidate the progress which he has made. In that case, we shall probably be coming there on the 24th September.

I have written a letter to Borker yesterday. I hope it will be all right about 3, Queensway.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
31 July 1949

Jyoti Prashad
Chief Minister
Tehri Garhwal
Narendranagar

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE ON MERGER OF TEHRI GARHWAL WITH UP WHICH PANTJI WILL BE BRINGING WITH HIM. BEGINS. TODAY IS A REDLETTER DAY IN THE HISTORY OF TEHRI-GARHWAL. IT FULFILS ITS NATURAL ROLE OF SEEKING ITS FUTURE WITH THE UNITED PROVINCES WITH WHICH IT IS LINKED HISTORICALLY GEOGRAPHICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. FOR A SUCCESSFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE IN THIS NEW ROLE I SEND TO ITS PEOPLE MY BEST WISHES.

I CAN ASSURE THEM THAT IN ENTRUSTING THAT FUTURE TO A GOVERNMENT HEADED BY PANTJI THE PEOPLE OF TEHRI GARHWAL ARE PUTTING FAITH IN A BAND OF TRIED ADMINISTRATORS HEADED BY A FOREMOST AND ZEALOUS PATRIOT OF OUTSTANDING ABILITY STATESMANSHIP AND EXPERIENCE. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THAT FAITH WOULD BE JUSTIFIED. ON OUR PART WE ASSURE THEM THAT THEIR FUTURE WILL BE WATCHED BY US WITH CLOSE ATTENTION AND WE SHALL DO OUR BEST TO DESERVE THE CONFIDENCE PLACED IN US BY THE RULER AND THE PEOPLE OF TEHRI GARHWAL.

THE INTEGRATION OF SMALL STATES WITH BIGGER UNITS IS AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. IT IS TRUE THAT THE SMALLER UNITS THEREBY LOSE CERTAIN ADVANTAGES INHERENT IN PERSONAL ATTENTION TO INTIMATE LOCAL PROBLEMS BUT THEY GAIN IN THE TALENTS EXPERIENCE AND RESOURCES OF THE BIGGER UNITS AND I HOPE IN THESE THE PEOPLE OF TEHRI GARHWAL WILL HAVE THEIR AMPLE REWARD FOR THE SACRIFICES THE RULER AND THE PEOPLE HAVE MADE. MAY GOD GIVE THEM ALL A FULL MEASURE OF HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY UNDER THE NEW DISPENSATION. ENDS.

SHANKAR

Indore
2 August 1949

Respected Sardar Shri,

The Information Department of the Madhya Bharat Government is bringing out this month the first issue of the "Madhya Bharat Information" (a publicity bulletin like the one issued by other provinces) in Hindi and English. I shall feel extremely obliged if you will kindly send me a few lines by way of a goodwill message for its first issue, which I am sure will not merely honour us but will greatly enrich the proposed magazine.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. K. Vijaiavargiya

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

Birla House
Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay
13 August 1949

My dear Vijaiavargiya,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 August 1949.

2. I am sending herewith Sardar's message for the first issue of the 'Madhya Bharat Information'.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri Gopi Krishna Vijaiavargiya
Premier
Madhya Bharat
Indore

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE

Bombay

13 August 1949

I am glad to know that the Information Department of the Madhya Bharat Government is bringing out its first issue of the 'Madhya Bharat Information.' The creation of a unit embracing the whole of Malwa has been a long cherished ambition of mine. Even during my illness last year, disobeying doctors' injunctions and with the co-operation and support of the Princes and popular leaders of Gwalior, Indore and other Central India States, I could bring about a fusion which made the creation of that unit possible. I, therefore, claim the Union of Madhya Bharat as my own and am deeply concerned about its welfare and prosperity. For this reason in particular, I am glad to associate myself with this new venture in publicity in Madhya Bharat.

2. In modern conditions publicity is an important function of Government. It is essential not only for disseminating news and ideas about Government's policy and activities, but it is also important in moulding public opinion in accordance with the directions and purpose of governmental machinery. In this sphere as in others, adherence to truth, fairness and sobriety is essential for effectiveness and success. Publicity organisations of Government hold up, as it were, a mirror in which the whole world can see the very reflection and image of Government. Distortions or artificial aids, exaggerations or suppression of reality are bound to attract public attention. Government under a democratic system must not be too sensitive to public criticism. Constructive and helpful criticism always exercises a healthy influence on public administration. It should, therefore, be the aim and purpose of Government publicity organisations to stimulate public interest, to invite constructive and helpful criticism and to help us that the Governmental machinery profits by experience and such criticism.

3. I hope the 'Madhya Bharat Information' will place before it the objectives which I have mentioned above. If it does, I have no doubt that it will succeed in its mission. I wish it all success.

Vallabhbhai Patel

CHAPTER XIII
RAJASTHAN UNION FORMED

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TELEGRAM

Jaipur
7 April 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RAJASTHAN MINISTRY SWORN IN TODAY. PRAY ALMIGHTY GIVE US STRENGTH TO SHOULDER HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY DEVOLVING ON US. SOLICIT YOUR BLESSINGS AND GOOD WISHES.

HIRALAL SHASTRI¹

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16-B Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
14 April 1949

Shraddheya Sardar Sahib,

The Cabinet of the Rajasthan Union is still on the anvil and I hope at least two more members will shortly be nominated. The Provincial Depressed Classes League of the Union of Rajasthan has sent to me a copy of the memorandum that they addressed to you and they wish me to contact you and impress upon you the desirability of including a Harijan member in the Cabinet. Besides this I am getting letters, resolutions and telegrams from all over India asking me to do my best as president-designate of All-India Depressed Classes League to make it possible so that at least one Harijan member may be nominated.

I have got no other approach but that of yours and Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt,² before whom I can place this just demand of

¹ General Secretary, All India States Peoples' Conference; member, CA; first popular Chief Minister, Jaipur State and thereafter of Rajasthan State

² Gokulbhai Daufatram Bhatt : ex-MP and ex-President Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee; Political Adviser and Chief Minister, Sirohi State, 1948-49; member, Working Committee, Indian National Congress and AICC

this depressed and downtrodden community of our country. Rajasthan is the most backward province of India and the lot of 15 [per cent of the] population of this province comprising of Harijans is miserable. Their pitiable condition deserves special consideration and a privileged treatment. Only a special portfolio devoted chiefly to this work and entrusted to a Harijan minister is a dire necessity and can meet this end.

I have had a talk with Shri Gokulbhai Bhattji, and Shri Hiralalji Shastri about this and Bhattji has agreed with me and has given me assurances to do his level best in this direction.

I am informed that the Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ramji has also spoken to Shastriji and Bhattji very strongly about this.

I therefore earnestly appeal to you to please give this problem your best attention and make it possible for the inclusion of at least one selfless and trustworthy Harijan in the Cabinet.

I am still waiting for your instructions in connection with the letter that I addressed to you at least a month back and in which connection you were pleased to give me some time to discuss the possibilities of translating those suggestions into action.

Hope this will find you in best of health.

Yours sincerely,
Dharma Prakash

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TELEGRAM

Jaipur
11 June 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

SPECIAL MEETING OF RAJPUTANA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE HELD TODAY ACCEPTED RESIGNATION OF GOKULBHAI BHATT AND ELECTED ME PRESIDENT OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE. PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE PASSED RESOLUTION CALLING UPON PANDIT HIRALAL SHASTRI PREMIER AND CONGRESS MINISTER TO RESIGN. EIGHTYEIGHT VOTED IN FAVOUR OF RESOLUTION, ONE AGAINST AND A FEW REMAINED NEUTRAL. GOKULBHAI AND HIS FRIENDS WALKED OUT WHEN THIS MOTION WAS UNDER DECISION.

JAINARAIN VYAS

TELEGRAM

Dehra Dun
12 June 1949

Jainarain Vyas
President
Rajasthan PCC
Jaipur

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 11 JUNE REFERS TO TWO POINTS. FIRST IS RESIGNATION OF GOKULBHAJ BHATT AND YOUR ELECTION AS PRESIDENT, PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, IN HIS PLACE. THIS IS PURELY YOUR LOCAL CONGRESS ORGANISATIONAL MATTER WITH WHICH I AM NOT CONCERNED. SECOND IS REGARDING RESOLUTION CALLING UPON PRIME MINISTER PANDIT BHIRALAL SHASTRI AND HIS MINISTERS TO RESIGN. I DO NOT KNOW IF TECHNICALLY PROCEEDINGS ARE VALID. BUT YOU SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT 'BHIRALAL SHASTRI AS PREMIER' IS NOT RESPONSIBLE TO PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE WHICH CANNOT APPROPRIATE TO ITSELF FUNCTIONS OF LEGISLATURE. HE OWES HIS PREMIERSHIP NOT TO ELECTION AS LEADER OR TO MANDATE OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE BUT TO MY CHOICE OF LEADERSHIP AT THE UNANIMOUS REQUEST OF ALL OF YOU. AS PREMIER AND MINISTERS THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE TO STATES MINISTRY AND WILL CONTINUE TILL ELECTION OF LEGISLATURE UNLESS IN THE MEANWHILE THEY LOSE OUR CONFIDENCE. YOU ARE FULLY AWARE OF THIS POSITION AND YOUR PERSISTENCE IN THE UNDESIRABLE AND HARMFUL COURSE WHICH YOU HAVE ADOPTED WILL MERELY RECOIL ON YOU. I AM QUITE SURE TACTICS YOU HAVE ADOPTED ARE A DISSERVICE TO ORGANISATION WE ALL BELONG TO AND ARE INJURIOUS TOO, THOUGH YOUR NARROW OUTLOOK MAY MAKE IT APPEAR AS SERVING YOUR OWN INTERESTS.

VALLABHBHAI

New Delhi
16 June 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have read with surprise and pain the text of your telegram to Jainarain Vyas in the Press.

Some of us have been watching with anxiety and helplessness the deteriorating condition of the country and the increasing indiscipline in the ranks of public workers. I was hoping against hope the recent defeats in the by-elections of Congress candidates will serve as a warning to our leaders and they will immediately take steps that will stop this rot and will re-establish the prestige and authority of the Congress organisation.

But it seems our leaders have completely lost their touch with public opinion. They still think their position with the people is secure and it is a few vicious and intriguing men like Kidwai and a few disgruntled men like Kripalani and Ghosh who are exaggerating the importance of public criticism.

Both Rajendra Babu and Dr. Pattabhi [Sitaramayya] have, in their directions to Provincial Congress Committees and Provincial Congress Ministries, again and again stressed on the co-operation of the Congress Governments and Congress organisation. How is this co-operation possible when the Ministries are composed of persons in whom the Congress organisation has no confidence?

I do not know the merits of the dispute and, therefore, I am not competent to say whether the PCC, was right in passing a "no confidence" resolution. But what I strongly object to is the publicity that has been given to the rebuke you have administered to the Provincial Congress. We are supposed to be the Congress Government and as such, we have a right to function only so long as we feel we can carry out the directions issued by the Congress. The Provincial Congress is the principal Congress authority in a province and when our eminent leaders proclaim from the house-top that PCCs can have no influence in the constitution of the Provincial Ministry we give a deathblow to the Congress organisation.

I trust you will not mind my writing to you thus. It was difficult to check my reaction to the publicity given to this

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telegram. I had been thinking of writing to you on the present situation and to request you to do something about it. But I reserve it for a later day.

Yours sincerely,
Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Dehra Dun

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Dehra Dun
19 June 1949

My dear Rafi,

Thank you for your letter of 16 June 1949 regarding Jainarain Vyas.

I am afraid I am unable to understand what your complaint is. The publicity was done from Jaipur. It cannot be nailed at my doors. In any case, you seem to have no idea of what sort of wild publicity is being done in Rajasthan by Jainarain Vyas's faction. Now that the Press seems to have got at the correspondence either through the Congress office or some other source in Jaipur, I do not see why he or anybody on his behalf should complain.

You refer to the recent defeats in the by-elections of Congress candidates and the increasing indiscipline in the ranks of public workers. These are matters more for those who are encouraging factions and group mentality to think over than for us, whose every effort throughout has been directed towards consolidation and unity. If Congressmen themselves decide to sabotage the Congress, there can be no future for the Congress. You have also tried to put yourself in the same class as Kripalani and Ghosh. Their cases are different and I do not propose to deal with them here.

I do not know what gives you an idea that the leaders have completely lost their touch with public opinion. Refusing to be panicky or getting hysteric about a setback here or a setback there, a criticism here or a criticism there, is no index of our loss of contact. Everybody has his own ideas of what public opinion is, and if somebody else's run counter to them, then it is broadcast that the latter is out of touch with public opinion.

When we assess the elections we have lost, we should assess them against the elections we have won. What about the UP by-elections last year, or the Bihar elections this year, or the elections in Surat and Ahmedabad? I know we must face facts; but then we must face them in their true perspective. Otherwise, we are apt to lose our sense of proportion.

Regarding Rajasthan, you yourself say that you do not know the merits of the dispute. To appreciate the position, it is not necessary to know all the facts. One simple fact is enough. Hiralal Shastri was elected unanimously as Leader by the Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Kishangarh in the latter half of March; what had happened between then and the early part of May, when a requisition was placed for discussing a vote of "no-confidence?" Only this, that a Ministry had been formed in which some of the nominees of Jainarain Vyas and Manekyalal Varma were not given their place and the whole thing was manoeuvred by sheer resort to tactics of all kinds. Is that an organisation to which one can look for confidence? Is that an organisation which can strengthen the Congress as a whole? Is that an organisation on which the fates of Ministries should depend? Apart from this, recently, we have changed all the Covenants to emphasise that the States Ministry has the powers of direction, superintendence and control; it is obvious, therefore, that a Ministry functioning in a Union must be that which enjoys the confidence of the States Ministry.

I certainly did not mind—rather, I welcomed—your writing to me frankly. I hope you will equally appreciate my frank reply. I am awaiting with interest your other letter on the present situation.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
Minister for Communications
New Delhi

The Palace
Jaipur
Rajputana
7 April 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Will you please refer to your letter dated 3 April 1949, regarding Sir V. T. Krishnamachari?

As you are aware, the formation of the United State of Rajasthan is in no small measure due to the help, advice and guidance received by us all from Sir V. T. Krishnamachari. As ours is an infant State, I should have preferred that Sir V. T. should stay on with us to help in putting this large and new union on a sound footing. However, as you require his services for a purpose which concerns the whole of India, and which is one of considerable importance, and as you are convinced that your need is greater than ours, I feel that I must accede to your wishes and agree to relieve Sir V. T.

You can well imagine how I shall feel in severing my official connection with this distinguished administrator and statesman, who has served me and my State with perfect loyalty, such conspicuous success, and for so long a period. I am sure that India and its units will benefit by utilising the gifts and experience of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari as Chairman of the Fiscal Commission, and this alone will reconcile me from his absence from here.

Yours sincerely,
S. Man Singh
[Maharaja of Jaipur]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
4 April 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

After our conversation yesterday, I have explained to His Highness why I cannot have a place in the new set-up.

As I told you, I shall be prepared to take up the chairmanship of the Fiscal Commission. It is work I like. I shall be grateful if His Highness is informed that I am needed for other work.

With kindest regards,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
V. T. Krishnamachari

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Camp Jaipur
4 July 1949

Pujya Shri Sardar Sahib,

Congress work in Rajputana is gradually losing ground and if proper care and attention is not paid, it is likely that the Congress organisation may break up. Through your superior intellectual power, tact and far-sighted policy, you have formed Rajputana province into a single entity, and we hope that its administration will be carried on systematically under your administrative control and guidance; elements of disturbances which continued to exist will not be able to gain ground before you.

In this letter I write certain truths for your information.

I came here on 1 July. On the same day I saw Shri Harlal Singhji of Jaipur and Shri Paliwalji who are the right and left hands of Vyasji as Shri Bholanath Master of Alwar insisted on my doing so. The brief substance of what they said is as follows:

"I did not remain neutral, did not persuade Shastriji, brought no pressure upon him and consequently the condition went on deteriorating; a strong cabinet could not be formed. The workers of Rajasthan are spotted and I felt very much ashamed (as I was the President). I did not bring this to your notice that there prevails in certain classes a great dissatisfaction due to the formation of the Cabinet (so they were saying from their personal interview with you). I became a 'yes' man to Shastriji (so they believe). I myself should improve this deteriorated state of affairs." Shri Paliwal's statement means that the decision which Sardarji has taken is not correct. Nobody likes this decision. There is a great danger of disunity amongst the members of the Working Committee. There will be serious objections raised if this case is put before the Working Committee and goes up to the AICC, and we shall be considered to be the main cause of creating differences

of opinions throughout the country. Somehow or other we should find way out of it before it happens to be a reality.

I asked, "What is there to be done now? Whatever decision Sardar Sahib has given is proper and according to law, and Shastriji has to work it out accordingly. The provincial committee has to co-operate with him. I am not in a position to say anything about the Cabinet. What else even Shastriji can do without the command (order) of Sardar Sahib?"

To this they (especially Paliwalji) said: "Then a situation would arise when the provincial committee would get the Cabinet boycotted, black flags will be demonstrated etc., etc. Does [this] mean that we should accept all orders which Sardar Sahib gives, overriding the democratic principles of the constitution; find some way out of it."

I said: "Recently Sardar Sahib called some of you along with Jainarainji to Dehra Dun and told you that he will accept any four persons you bring in the Union. Shri Vyas has, therefore, to invite three persons to work with him. It is he who should now begin to make the way clear."

On the next day, 2 July, I had a talk with Shri Vyasji. Shri Bholanath was present on that day. The substance of what he said is as follows:

"What can be said until we know the result of the investigation which is being carried on against us and also until the decision of All India Working Committee is reached? I have to obey the resolution of the provincial committee. I have to act according to the command of the person who has given me this opportunity. Sardar Sahib very plainly told us in the interview that he did not intend to take statements in the preliminary enquiry, only those things should be produced that were available in the office. But who knows who is misleading the whole state of affairs—Shastriji or Rao? We are being defamed either by Shastriji or by Rao. I will see that Rao realises the points of opposition against him and I will also see that Sardar Sahib conducts enquiry against him in this connection. At present there are two conflicting elements—the resolution of the Provincial Congress Committee (regarding resignation of the Cabinet) on the one hand and the decision taken by Sardar Sahib on the other, (an improper simile was used by him which I cannot write). Let me see what the All-India Working Committee does. Otherwise I will proceed in my own way. I am prepared to go to jail. I shall fight for principle, if the circumstances compel me to do so."

I explained to him as to how much Shastriji is concerned with this enquiry. At last I said,

"Friends desire that we should finally settle our differences and you should make the beginning (take a leading part) because Sardar Sahib also desires that if we all four are of one opinion and put our decision before him (inform him of our decision) he will accept it."

Vyasji said, "No, I do not care; Shastriji may do it if he feels it necessary. What solution should I suggest? I do not want to join the Cabinet; an enquiry is being conducted against the rest whom I consider useful and suitable and who in the opinion of Shastriji are not fit. Whom should I suggest? At present the ground is also not ripe. Let every thing set itself right. . . . The crux of the whole problem is that Shastriji should resign forthwith. I have to take step to carry out my resolution and that I will do. . . ."

From this I feel that the following mischievous news is published by papers siding him:

1. Henceforward Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will take over charge of the States Ministry; Sardar and Panditji are not on good terms.

2. If the Working Committee approves the decision taken by Sardar Sahib, a requisition will be made to convene a special meeting of the AICC, in which the Working Committee will have to give ground at last.

3. That combined meeting of the members of the AICC, and the members of the Legislative Councils of the Unions will meet in New Delhi to condemn and criticise the policy of Sardarji.

Certain newspapers also give out rumours that Dr. Pattabhi will tour Rajputana in the middle of July and will try to bring about a peaceful settlement.

Vyasji has nothing also to do but to give interviews to Pressmen and does propaganda about his pet notions.

It has also been published, and to a certain extent it is true that Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, and Shri Nijalingappa have written to you letters requesting to change your decision.

You already know what resolution criticising you they have passed after the interview. I send you a copy of it. On the one hand it is said that the conversations were all satisfactory while on

the other the resolution means otherwise. There are numerous talks as to when, where, and by whom this resolution was passed.

On one side notices are being given to Ministers to resign, on the other side orders are being issued to the District Congress Committee that no part should be taken in the meetings and gatherings held in honour of Ministers. If the Ministers do not resign they will be dismissed and then the committee should be given orders.

At some places where the committee is not of their opinion, the committee is threatened with disciplinary action.

The Congress is thus being weakened. Forms for membership are not given because they want to create parties. This is the state of affairs going on here.

I close this long letter.

I hope you are well. Due regards to Maniben, Vande mataram to Shri Shankar.

Gokulbhai

[Original in Gujarati]

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE MEETING HELD AT DELHI ON 23-6-49 OF THE RAJPUTANA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1. The Working Committee of the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee has carefully considered the telegram dated 13-6-49, from Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel regarding the policy of the States Ministry (Government of India) in connection with the resolution of "no-confidence" against Shri Hiralal Shastri passed by the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee.

While having full respect for Sardar Patel and appreciating the important work done by him in connection with the integration of various States the committee considers that not only the language and the style but also the individual views expressed therein are objectionable.

2. The Working Committee considers that the new policy of the States Ministry that Pandit Hiralal Shastri in his capacity of Premier is not responsible to the Provincial Congress Committee, that his selection as Premier has not been made by virtue of his being leader of the Provincial Congress Committee or in accordance with the instructions of the Provincial Congress Committee but according to his (Sardar Patel) choice and that he should continue as Premier till such time he has not lost his confidence, is not only against the democratic principles of administration, tradition, and policy but is also

against the declared policy of the Government of India. This policy is likely to give a blow to the Congress organisation, its rights and importance.

3. It will not be out of place to make mention here briefly of the history of the growth of political consciousness among the people. With the struggle for independence for India the political awakening also started in the States. After the Haripura session of the Congress and particularly in 1938 agitation started in a number of States for the establishment of responsible government.

Thereafter in 1939, under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal in the Akhil Bharat Lok Parishad (All India States Peoples' Conference) session held at Ludhiana a demand was made for integration of the States. In 1942 when the "Quit India" movement was started, the States subjects also fully co-operated. In 1945, the All India States Peoples' Conference was held and a resolution was passed thereat that responsible governments may be established in States, and that for the interim period, the power should be left in the hands of the popular ministry which under the present political situation meant only the establishment of ministries through the popular Praja Mandal (Congress).

4. This resolution was repeated from time to time by the above Parishad and a beginning was made in this direction in some of the States. With the departure of Britishers from India rapid changes also took place in the States. As was natural, the Congress in consequence assumed power. The rulers recognised the representative character of the Congress and began to entrust the administration of the States in the hands of Congress representatives. Where there were no legislative assemblies (Dhara Sabhas) the responsibility for the formation of [ministries] mainly was entrusted to the Congress. Even where there were legislative assemblies the same policy was adopted, e.g. in Kashmir, Jaipur, in spite of there being legislative assemblies the formation of popular ministries was entrusted to popular leaders of the public outside the assemblies.

5. At the same time the States Ministry (Government of India) embarked on the important work of integration of States and the formation of groups of smaller States into big unions. The States subjects not only agreed with this policy but enthusiastically supported the States Ministry in this respect. In accordance with this very policy Sardar Patel after consultation with the rulers on one side and the Congress leaders of Rajasthan on the other side formed this Greater Rajasthan.

6. This was the third form of Rajasthan. Just as on all previous occasion the selection of the leader was made through the Congress, similarly on this occasion also the opportunity for the selection of the leader was given to the Provincial Congress Committee, and Pandit Hiralal Shastri was selected as the leader unopposed but not unanimously. Not only this, the [necessity] for taking oath by the leader was felt in the special meeting at Kishangarh on the 28 and 29

March 1949. This fact supports the right of the Provincial Congress Committee for formation of ministry and as a result of which the Rajpramukh with the approval of the States Ministry invited them to form the ministry. In one way Sardar Patel has also admitted in his telegram the right of the Provincial Congress Committee when he mentions the question of the selection of Premier with the concurrence of the Congress committee.

7. The Working Committee is definitely of opinion that the Legislative Assembly is a part of the Congress programme and is not different from the Congress. Especially where there were no legislative assemblies, it is but natural that the power should vest in the Provincial Congress Committee. The selection of Shastriji was made by the Provincial Congress Committee and the instructions for formation of the ministry were also given by the committee. In view of this the arguments advanced in regard to "no-confidence" motion that the Provincial Congress Committee cannot assume the powers of the Legislative Assembly does not look sound. It is regretted that the States Ministry who themselves laid importance on the representative character of the Congress which was also accepted even by the rulers has now declined to recognise it. It is also stated by the States Ministry in their publication on its 'Working of States' that a democratic form of government is being introduced in the States. In the circumstances it would not be in order for any government to continue functioning in Rajasthan Province which has no support of the Provincial Congress Committee. Neither such government can be said to be or recognised as democratic. In other words the continuance of such a government is to continue the bureaucratic form of government which cannot help in development of democracy, nor would it help to solve the serious problems, to solve which the various units have been brought together. This question has not only the constitutional aspect but also political.

It is, therefore, the demand of the committee that the present ministry may be dissolved and a new popular ministry in its place be formed at an early date.

(Original in Hindi)

Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee
Jaipur
1 July 1949

To
All District Congress Committees

Dear Brothers,

The Provincial Congress Committee has expressed its "no-confidence" in the Premier of Rajasthan, and has called upon the Premier and other ministers

to tender their resignations. They have not so far given their resignations. In the meantime a question has cropped up whether the Congress members may participate or not in the reception parties or dinners arranged in honour of the ministers. It is essential for the ministers that they should obey the instructions of the Provincial Congress Committee. Since they have not so far done so all Congress committees and members thereof are informed hereby that until further notice they should not take part in any such reception parties or dinners.

3. So far as the question of wants and removal of grievances of the public is concerned they should continue as before to correspond with and interview the Ministers and officers of the Rajasthan Government.

Yours,
Jainarain Vyas
President

(Original in Hindi)

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Camp Birla House
Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay 4
13 August 1949

My dear Venkata Rao,

I have seen the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee. It is a curiously worded resolution. In one part it seeks to justify its position; in the other, it professes loyalty and obedience to the instructions of the Working Committee. As usual, there are certain misstatements. The fact that the four leaders were consulted and were asked to agree to certain things did not mean that we acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee in the matter. All that we were concerned about and tried to ensure was that, as far as possible, all the arrangements had the support of popular leaders. Further, Jainarain Vyas or Manikyalal Varma never approached us for any instructions or with any grievances on this issue. On their own, after their wishes in regard to the formation of the Ministry could not be fully accommodated, they issued requisitions. Even then it was made quite clear to them that in this matter the States Ministry was the final authority and a vote of no-confidence will have no effect. Even after the

resolution was passed early in June last, the position was made clear in the statement which was issued by me and also during the discussions which a deputation of the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee had with me at Dehra Dun. Still there was no retracing of steps by the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee. To say now at this stage that they would have ipso facto dropped the resolution is just an attempt at injured innocence.

As regards their representatives being given a hearing, they had seen so many members of the Working Committee and their point of view, onesided and coloured as it was, certainly did not go unrepresented.

I suggest that you apprise the president of the Provincial Congress Committee of these facts and call upon him, in the light of these facts, to explain his conduct and that of his colleagues. Either they must apologise for their effrontery or we shall have to take disciplinary action against them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Kala Venkata Rao
Secretary, All-India Congress Committee
7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi

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Jaipur
14 August 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I send herewith a copy of a resolution passed by the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee at its meeting held in Sojat a few days ago. I have absolutely no desire to comment on this resolution, which, apart from the mentality behind it, does not conform to facts in certain respects.

Yours sincerely,
Hiralal Shastri

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Birla House
Malabar Hill
Bombay

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE RAJPUTANA CONGRESS WORKING
COMMITTEE ON 7 AUGUST 1949

The Working Committee of the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee has read with careful attention the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting of 18 July 1949 held at Delhi dealing with the no-confidence motions passed by the Provincial Congress Committee against Shri Hiralal Shastri and Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt. This committee has also carefully read the document signed along with others by Shri Jainarain Vyas and Shri Manikyalal Varma which has been characterised as an agreement, particularly Clause V of the document which has been referred to by the Congress Working Committee in its resolution. The incorporation of such a clause is not the unique or special feature of the Rajasthan Covenant alone. It is also found in the covenants of all the other Unions as well—even of Unions where there are legislatures. But this clause should not be taken to mean or imply that this in any way abrogates, nullifies or takes away altogether the existing political rights and privileges, conventions and practices of the legislatures or for that matter of local Congress organisations where there are no legislatures, with regard to the formation of ministries and allied matters hitherto . . . accepted and recognised by the Rajpramukhs and the States Ministry.

The Working Committee wants to bring to the notice of the Congress Working Committee the fact that the leaders of the Provincial Congress Committee were duly consulted in the matter of administrative set-up, advisers, number of Ministers, inclusion of non-Congress Ministers, etc. (vide the agreement referred to above that was arrived at between the popular representatives and the advisers of the States Ministry). The very fact that an agreement was made by the adviser of the States Ministry on the one hand and the representatives of the PCC on the other hand and details of the administrative set-up were drawn in Clause Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 shows that the Congress of the province has been recognised as a body competent to take an effective part in the matter of formation of the Ministry.

This Working Committee is strongly of the opinion that the verdict of the Congress Committee does not solve the political and practical side of the question in this crucial period when the Governments in the provinces and States Unions require popular backing and support in the discharge of their duties to the satisfaction of the people. And so, in the humble opinion of the Working Committee, the PCC was perfectly within its right to have passed the vote of no-confidence as it did.

Further, this Working Committee wants to draw the attention of the Congress Working Committee to the fact that Shri Jainarain Vyas had in his letter dated 4 June 1949 enquired of the Congress President, "Whether you have in your letter to Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt ruled that it was outside the scope of the PCC members, who elected the Rajasthan Premier, to pass a vote

of no-confidence against him and whether you have asked the PCC members to withdraw that motion," and the reply Shri Jainarain Vyas got on this point was, "If the leader was elected by the PCC, the PCC would have the power also to vary its decision—this apart from the merits of the case. . . . So far I have not varied my view or instructions. . . . The version in the cutting . . ., namely that I have given orders to the members of the province to withdraw without delay any particular resolution, is wholly wrong and must be the result of pure imagination." In view of such a reply this committee feels that no impression can and could be created that the PCC was not within its rights to pass a vote of no-confidence. If the position was such as explained by the Congress Working Committee, the PCC or the requisitionists should have been informed accordingly and the resolution would have ipso facto been dropped.

As regards the no-confidence resolution against Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt, the then President of the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee, this committee wishes to place on record the fact that the PCC was unaware of any rule, direction or instruction that the wish to pass such a resolution should be communicated to the Congress President in advance or of any rule, direction or instruction that such a motion should incorporate reasons leading to no-confidence. In the absence of any such rule, direction or instruction, this Working Committee is constrained to observe that the criticism made in the said resolution of the Congress Working Committee is not fair to the PCC nor justified.

Similarly, with regard to the talk of the resignation of Shri Gokulbhai having been submitted in advance, this Working Committee wants to make it clear that the resolution expressing no-confidence in Shri Gokulbhai was passed in the requisitioned meeting of the PCC on 9 June 1949, when Shri Gokulbhai's resignation was not before the PCC. The resignation saw the light of the day on the floor of the House for the first time on 11 June 1949, when the vote of no-confidence had already been passed two days earlier.

It would have been fair to the PCC organisation if representatives of the PCC had been given a hearing before the Congress Working Committee passed the above resolutions. This committee is of the opinion that had its representatives been given an opportunity to have their say, no resolutions would have been required to be passed by the Congress Working Committee in the form they have been done.

In the end this committee assures the Congress Working Committee that, as a constituent part of the Congress, this PCC would always loyally stand by and abide by any instructions that the Congress Working Committee gives to it.

Camp Dehra Dun
8 June 1949

My dear Nijalingappa,

Thank you for your letter of 6 June 1949 regarding Coorg. Ayyangar is already likely to go there towards the end of this month. I have asked him to look into this matter.

I understand that you have interested yourself in the Rajasthan Provincial Congress Committee controversy. If so, I shall be most surprised to learn that one member of the Congress Working Committee is interesting himself against a colleague of his. That controversy, if transferred to the Congress Working Committee, would spell harmful consequences not only for Rajasthan but for the country as a whole. I do not know whether you are aware of all the facts or whether you are taking up your attitude on one-sided version only. In any case, I would have expected you to have at least sought a clarification of your doubts from me before taking a hand in the matter. I shall be interested to know whether what I have been told is correct or not.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Nijalingappa
Member
Constituent Assembly of India
12-A, Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi

12-A Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
9 June 1949

Dear Sardarji,

I am deeply grateful to you for your kind letter of yesterday. I have been much surprised and pained that you should have been led to suspect that I have been taking interest in the Rajasthan Provincial Congress Committee controversy in a manner

that may be interpreted as working against a colleague in the Working Committee.

Kindly allow me to explain. Shris Gokulbhai Bhatt, Jainarain Vyas and Hiralal Shastri have been known to me for quite a few years as we have been meeting often during the last 10 to 12 years in the All India States Peoples' Conferences and other committees. When I heard of the controversy recently about Rajasthan, I spoke to all the three friends as I was naturally interested in them and did not like such differences to exist among Congressmen who have been co-workers all these days. You may also remember that I referred to this matter when I had occasion to speak to you at Dehra Dun at the time of the AICC session and you were pleased to tell me that you would advise them properly if they came to you. Shri Bhatt knows this. Since then I have been trying to bring both the parties together and to have their differences settled in your presence. Shri Bhatt knows him and had no objection naturally. I very much wished that Shris Bhatt, Shastri, Vyas and Varma would together meet you and have a heart to heart talk so that it may end in a compromise or understanding satisfactory to all. I must say I did not succeed. I left it at that seeing that my efforts however well meant did not have favourable reactions and some friends seemed to stand on their prestige. In fact I have no attitude either way in this matter and have not enquired into details nor know them except the scrappy information both parties have given me and what I know from the Press, my only intention being to bring them together.

I am sure, Sardarji, and let me assure you that I have done nothing which could lead one to suspect that I have taken sides or have sympathies one way or the other.

I fully realise and appreciate the advice you have been pleased to give me and am grateful. As you know I have always come to you for advice and guidance whenever I am in difficulties and I have always got what I wanted. I am always willing and eager to be guided by you.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Nijalingappa

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

fact that Mr. Mathur borrowed some money to pay off Messrs. Sanghi Brothers' bill of a car purchased by him. The only object behind this sort of summoning a respectable man to the police station and searching his account books seems to be to discourage such persons from lending money to us. On my way to Ajmer on the 25th ultimo I halted at Kishangarh for a few hours. I happened to meet Mr. Hiralal Patni of the textile mills there. I was told by him that some Trivedi (may be Sunderlal) and one Ishawar Singh who was in the Ajmer-Merwara Intelligence Department and is now in Jaipur service met him and enquired if he had paid any money to Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia of Udaipur and even went to the extent of persuading him to involve Mr. Sukhadia which he refused to do.

Since you had asked us as to why we did not bring such things to your notice I have thought it fit to do so.

I may just bring it to your notice that—

(i) Motor drivers and people of inferior services who were deputed with the ministers have been called to police stations and to the secretariats to give statements as to where we used to go. This is just to create a feeling that there is something wrong with us.

(ii) Sanctions accorded by the ministers have been withdrawn or set aside. They include old resolutions like those of appointing committees to enquire into the details of transferring revenue collecting power from the jagirdars to the Government or setting up of anti-corruption committees.

(iii) In cancelling the allowances granted to the families of political sufferers (those who left this world as a result of suffering or were killed) the allowance which was granted to the family of Shri Balmukund Bissa is reported to have been stopped.

(iv) Grants made by the Hanwant Benevolent Fund committee mostly for supplying water to famine-stricken areas, have been stopped. This was a quasi-government fund.

(v) Many constructive schemes, building of roads etc., have been stopped.

I hope this is being done against your orders and wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jainarain Vyas

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

Dehra Dun
7 July 1949

My dear Jainarain Vyas,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 July 1949.

It is obviously impossible for me to reply off-hand to the allegations which you have made. I am asking the Rajasthan Government for a report.

You have referred to some of your orders having been upset. We found that some of the orders issued by your Ministry a few days before the administration was taken over contravened our specific instructions. We had, therefore, to ask the Rajasthan Government to review the position and to see which orders would require reconsideration. As far as I know, the position is being reviewed in the light of those considerations. However, on the specific points raised, I am asking the Rajasthan Government for their comments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbbhai Patel

Shri Jainarain Vyas
President
Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee
Jaipur

Jaipur
11 July 1949

My dear Shankarji,

I have your letter of 7 July forwarding copy of Shri Jainarain Vyas's letter of 2-7-'49 to Sardar Sahib.

As regards the enquiry into the conduct of certain ex-Ministers of Jodhpur and old Rajasthan, the Rajasthan Government forwarded copy of Shri Vellodi's letter to Shri Venkatachar to Shri Rau and Shri Pillai for necessary action. The enquiry has been conducted under the supervision of these two officers whom I will ask to let us know the actual procedure of the enquiry. The allegations formerly made by certain persons that one Ganga Singh

of the Jodhpur Excise Department was harassed by the police were enquired into and were found to be entirely false and baseless.

The alleged purchase of cars by the three ex-Ministers involved in the enquiry about the time of their relinquishing office has been a topic of common criticism in Jodhpur. It has been asserted that the cars were not purchased but were received by the ex-Ministers as free gifts in consideration of some service done [to] the Motor dealers at State expense. It is likely that enquiries may have been made from the "well-to-do merchant Shri Nand Kishore Agrawal" who is said to have lent money to Shri Mathuradas Mathur for the purchase of a car. Similarly, some one deputed by Shri Pillai may have gone to Kishengarh to make enquiries from Shri Hiralal Patni who must have rightly been suspected of having some illicit dealings with Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, ex-Minister of old Rajasthan.

There have been allegations of gross abuse of State cars and petrol against the Jodhpur ex-Ministers. In this connection enquiries may have been made from drivers. I am not aware of any sanctions accorded by the former Jodhpur Ministers having been withdrawn and set aside by the Rajasthan Government. I am asking Shri Rau to say if he has done anything. The same is the Rajasthan Government's position in regard to cancellation of allowances granted to political sufferers. Regarding the Hanwant Benevolent Fund there have been allegations of unauthorised disbursements having been made from the fund. Naturally therefore the actual position may have been looked into and certain grants may have been stopped by Shri Rau. Lastly, as regards the stopping of constructive schemes, we passed orders for the temporary suspension of certain works all over Rajasthan with the intention of re-examining the whole situation in view of the integration of the whole of Rajasthan, as we felt that some changes may have to be made in the new circumstances.

This is all that I can say at the moment with reference to Shri Vyas's letter to Sardar Sahib. But as I have said I am asking Shri Rau and Shri Pillai to explain the position in regard to matters with which they are concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Hiralal Shastri

Shri V. Shankarji
Private Secretary to
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun
S.C.-VIII-37

Jodhpur
7 July 1949

My Dear V. Shankar Sahib,

When I met you last in Delhi, I had talked to you in connection with the so-called enquiry against the three Congress ex-Ministers of Jodhpur. I wanted to meet you at Dehra Dun at the time of the AICC meeting, but could not get a chance. During these two months, developments have taken place in Jodhpur which have convinced everybody that the present Administration is going out of its way in adopting all methods to defame the ex-Congress Ministers. It is definitely acting with a spirit of vengeance. It is much of investigation by the police that is going on against us rather than an enquiry and that too in the hands of petty police officials. On the 22nd when Shri Varmaji and Shri Vyasji with other members of the RPCC met Sardar Sahib at Dehra Dun, this matter when being talked, Sardar Sahib is said to have remarked that it was none of his intention to have any enquiry made, in which statements of witnesses were to be recorded, but he only meant going through government records to see if there was anything in them. I fail to understand why is then the Jodhpur Administration so keen on not only recording statements of witnesses, but rather in concocting false witnesses. Not only this, the witnesses are threatened and even in spite of their refusal to depose according to the wishes of the police against us, they are detained in the Police Lines and all sorts of methods, it is said, are used to take words out of their mouth. As a matter of fact, the whole enquiry is conducted in Jodhpur by third-rate men of the Jodhpur Administration who do not hitch a bit to employ third-rate methods to achieve their preconceived aims. The people, the Congress and the Ministers concerned are kept in dark, and a reign of terror has been spread all around the length and breadth of the State by the police and Government officials. The whole of the enquiry is being conducted strictly in camera by the police and other officers of the State who are well known for their anti-Congress feelings. The magistrate, who has been entrusted with the task of recording statements against me in an excise case, is a jagirdar and is well known for his anti-Congress activities. He

being non-qualified and not being a graduate is even incompetent to hold his present job. In our regime, he was not given the chance of Deputy Commissioner because of his incompetency in work and also because his immediate officers talk low of him. He was kept where he was and he did not receive any promotion. You can very well understand what the fate of this enquiry can be if such people are given the responsibility of recording statements when they definitely bear a grudge against us. The statements are not recorded in the court room, but they are recorded at his private residence and that too late in the night. It has been so arranged that one shall not find anything on record to establish the association of the police in this matter, but the police is doing the whole thing under the instructions and guidance of the Inspector-General of Police, Thakur Umed Singh, a jagirdar of Chandelao. This Thakur Sahib is also very much dissatisfied with the Congress regime as he was not confirmed as Inspector-General of Police. You must have heard about the Rajput agitation in Jodhpur regarding the Rajput High School when this Inspector-General of Police completely failed to discharge the duties of maintaining law and order and even to execute and enforce the orders under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C issued by the District Magistrate of Jodhpur. He was, therefore, given one month's compulsory leave by the then Dewan, Mr. P. S. Rau, and now Administrator, Jodhpur, with the understanding to the Government that he would never be confirmed as Inspector-General of Police. He has now been confirmed as Inspector-General of Police by the Administrator on the clear understanding that he will do his best to fabricate cases against the ex-Congress Ministers. The police officials act under the guidance of this I.G. of Police. Those officers who helped the Administration have been promoted by the present Administrator to higher cadre, although there are seniors to them. The witnesses who have been threatened have given affidavits before the magistrates and other responsible people. If you remember, two of them came down to Delhi and appeared before you as well.

As regards other matters of favouritism etc. etc., we actually do not know how the position stands, but what I definitely understand is that the report is not without bias and full of omissions.

I am sorry to have taken your time in writing all this, but I feel I must tell you what actually is happening and has happened in Jodhpur. The details are many which I shall let you know whenever I get an opportunity to meet you in Delhi, but one

thing I would request you to do for me. Whatever the report the Administrator may have sent, we only wish that before, in case any step is taken, we must be called to Delhi and our explanation taken. I am sure if any opportunity of explaining the matter is given to us, we shall be able to satisfy Sardar Sahib on all matters. I have written to Dr. Tara Chandji to write to you in the matter, but I learn he is busy with the University Commission Report at Simla. Anyway I hope you will do this little needful.

Any service for me at Jodhpur.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mathuradas Mathur

Shri V. Shankar
Private Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
Dehra Dun (UP)

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Dehra Dun
9 July 1949

My dear Shastriji,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Mathuradas Mathur. You will separately hear from the States Ministry regarding the result of the preliminary enquiry, the papers of which you showed me when you were here. Sardar's view is that as many of those cases as indicate a criminal offence (and there is a good chance of successful prosecution) should be proceeded with in the ordinary way. That is, they should be registered and a proper investigation should be made. This investigation, he thinks, had better be made by one of our own officers who would have to be given necessary powers by you, but who would function through your own police, unless he feels that separate assistance from our police is necessary or you feel yourself that it would be better if he had his own investigation staff. Sardar also felt that, as soon as this is done, statements of as many witnesses as possible should be recorded under Section 164 Criminal Procedure Code.

One particular point out of this letter seems worthy of notice. It is relating to the police officer who is in charge of the investigation. I do not know if what is stated there is true, namely,

that this gentleman has now been confirmed as IGP presumably with *retrospective effect*. If that is the case, it is rather an unfortunate coincidence. Please let me know what the facts are.

On hearing from you and after the instructions of the States Ministry are communicated to you, I shall send a suitable reply to Shri Mathuradas Mathur.

I have seen a copy of your reply to Jainarain Vyas. I think it is excellent.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri Hiralal Shastri
Premier
Rajasthan
Jaipur

477

Jaipur
14 July 1949

My dear Shankarji,

This is with reference to your letter from Dehra Dun dated 9 July 1949 forwarding copy of Shri Mathuradas Mathur's letter of 7 July to you.

I have since sent you the final report of the Jodhpur enquiry which, I hope, you have shown to Sardar Sahib. As regards the future line of action I think we should discuss the matter thoroughly when we meet next.

That Thakur Umed Singh has been confirmed as IGP is entirely false. Since the officer has not been confirmed as alleged, the question of making any understanding with him by Shri Rau does not arise. In this connection Shri Rau's letter to Shri Pradhan dated 18 April 1949 (copy enclosed) will make interesting reading. This one example will show how much value is attached to truth by Shri Mathuradas Mathur and his friends.

Yours sincerely,
Hiralal Shastri

Shri V. Shankar
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Jaipur
4 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Delhi

SUPERINTENDENT POLICE CHURU WIRES SURAJBHAN DACOIT WOUNDED
AND ARRESTED AND HIS COMPANION DAULAT SHOT DEAD. DETAILS
WHEN RECEIVED WILL FOLLOW.

HIRALAL SHASTRI

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New Delhi
5 December 1949

My dear Hiralal Shastri,

Many thanks for your telegram of 4 December 1949 and the telephonic message you communicated to me last night regarding the arrest of Surajbhan. I am very glad that the efforts made in this connection have proved successful and would like you to congratulate the staff that was employed on it.

It is necessary to ensure that Surajbhan is kept in very safe custody. He will have to be kept in fetters and I feel it would be better if you kept him in military custody. Your police will, of course, try to gather as much information as possible in regard to persons who have been assisting this gang and take steps to deal with these people according to law.

Now you can concentrate on Banwari and some other gangs which are operating in Dholpur and elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Hiralal Shastri
Premier
Jaipur

Bombay
5 September 1949

My dear Jainarain Vyas,

I am writing in continuation of my letter of 7 July 1949. I have now had detailed reports from Messrs. Rau, Pillai and Shastriji.

As I told you, we have received several allegations against you and your other colleagues of the Jodhpur Ministry. The allegations were of a serious nature and quite obviously we had to enquire into those charges. The enquiry has been conducted under the supervision of Messrs. Rau and Pillai. Previously there was an allegation that one Ganga Singh of the Jodhpur Excise Department was harassed by the police. Enquiries were made and the allegation was found to be entirely false and baseless. It is obvious that in order to ascertain whether there is a *prima facie* case, which need be put to you and your colleagues, some enquiries must be made with a view to establish certain facts on which this could be done. The allegations are of two types; one type referring to cases of the nature of a criminal offence; the other those involving misconduct, ordinary or grave. Naturally the procedure in the two cases has to be different. In one case, the procedure followed must be in accord with the criminal law; in the other case the procedure has to be more elastic. Perhaps, in the light of these, you would be able to appreciate clearly the procedure adopted in the enquiry.

I would not like to deal with the various allegations in detail, but I will tell you in brief exactly what transpired. Mr. Hiralal Patni was contacted because he was one of the persons alleged to have paid money to the ex-Ministers. There was no question of persuading him to involve Shri [Mohanlal] Sukhadia. It was a general enquiry about his alleged transactions with Shri Sukhadia. There have been allegations about the use of petrol and State cars. Naturally, motor drivers and inferior servants had to be questioned, but any allegation about the use of force is baseless. As regards the resolution regarding the appointment of a committee to enquire into jagirdari matters, the problem acquired a different aspect after the integration of Jodhpur into Greater

Rajasthan. It had, therefore, to be tackled on a more comprehensive basis. Naturally, therefore, the restricted terms of reference of the committee and its jurisdiction had to be considered. You must be aware now that a committee has been appointed to go into the question as it affects the whole of Rajasthan. As regards anti-corruption, everywhere it is a police function and it was, therefore, best to entrust this to police officers in the usual way. The officials who were appointed had no power to make investigations or to call for witnesses and I am told that for that reason they have done nothing. No allowances to political sufferers have been stopped. Enquiries are being made into the particulars of the dependents of the deceased persons and as soon as full particulars are known, pension payment orders would be prepared and issued. It is also untrue that the allowance granted to the family of Balmukund Bissa has been stopped. The grants made by you for the Hanwant Benevolent Fund are of doubtful legality. The question is, therefore, being examined. Mr. Rau categorically denies that any single constructive scheme sponsored by the late Ministry or construction of any buildings or roads has ever been stopped.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Jainarain Vyas
Delhi

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31 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
8 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am thankful to you for your letter dated the 5th which was handed over to me yesterday.

I understand there are enquiries against me and my colleagues involving "serious" charges of a criminal nature and "grave" or ordinary misconduct. I am awaiting a charge-sheet or arrest under Sect. 409 as some of friends are propagating. I would not mind being prosecuted and the law taking its course. I hold no brief for Ganga Singh of the Excise Department; but I would request you to reserve your opinion about the validity of the charges made about his being harassed. What I understand is that

this man has been suspended for the alleged offence of reporting certain matters to the States Ministry and is not allowed to go out of Jodhpur either to his village home or official headquarters although he has no home of his own in Jodhpur. I also understand that he has not been paid two or three months' salary nor is he given any suspension allowance while he is in a way detained in Jodhpur. He has, I understand, asked for permission to sue the officer who harassed him, but this permission has not been granted. If these facts are right you will have to revise your opinion about this case some day.

I have noted your remarks about Mr. Patni having been contacted and the other matters. I have at present nothing to say about them; but about the pensions granted to the families of the martyrs or political sufferers I have a word to say. I visited Nimbi village in Didwana district to which late Mr. Chunilal belonged. This gentleman was a prominent Congress worker and was killed in Dabra. Nothing has been done to help his family although it was decided long back. We gave up office on 7 April and more than five months have passed since then. If enquiries about the family members, etc., take such a long period it does little credit to the administration. I was merely sorry when I was told there that no enquiry has been made there. I may add that a sum of Rs. 15 was sanctioned for a reading room which was started there to commemorate the memory of Shri Chunilal and some enquiries are going on about that reading room although the sanctioned amount remains unpaid.

I note your remarks about certain acts and am satisfied to know that our constructive schemes have not been abandoned. I may, however, inform you that the engineering college that was to start this year has not been opened and the principal who was employed by us has been permitted to join the Government of India service. I have also not heard about the Bangar Educational Trust of which I was supposed to be a member. Presumably, my name might have been taken off the list of the trustees, on account of my having been considered an "undesirable." But what I hear is that some papers have been burnt. I am making enquiries about that and would submit a further report to you when I get greater and better details.

I am sorry to have to bother you about all these details in this state of your health; but I would be unjust to myself if I suppress from you the facts as I know them.

I hope you are better now and are fit to attend to important matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jainarain Vyas

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India

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TELEGRAM

Banswara
1 August 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MOST GRATEFUL MAKING CONVENIENT TO SPARE TIME FOR ME EARLY
THIRD WEEK AUGUST TO DISCUSS WITH YOU MATTER OF VITAL IMPORTANCE
TO ME. SHALL BE REACHING DELHI TWENTIETH FRONTIER
MAIL.

MAHARAWAL OF BANSWARA

483

TELEGRAM

Delhi
2 August 1949

H.H. Maharawal of Banswara
Banswara

YOUR TELEGRAM. REGRET SARDAR PATEL WILL BE OUT OF DELHI.

SHANKAR
PRIVATE SECRETARY

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TELEGRAM

Banswara
4 August 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

KINDLY REFER MY TELEGRAM OF FIRST AND SHRI SHANKAR'S REPLY OF THIRD [SECOND?]. GRATEFUL WIRING IF CAN SPARE TIME FOR ME FOURTH WEEK AUGUST. IF THIS ALSO UNSUITABLE GRATEFUL INFORMING CONVENIENT DATE.

MAHARAWAL BANSWARA

485

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 August 1949

His Highness Maharawal of Banswara
Banswara

YOUR TELEGRAM. REPLY TO YOUR REPRESENTATION BEING SENT TODAY. IN VIEW OF REPLY INTERVIEW WILL SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE.

VALLABHBHAI

486

Government House
Calcutta
14 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I was very happy to learn from your letter that you were in good health. Dr. Roy also gave me the same information on his return to Calcutta. I do hope that after his return and his talks with you and Jawaharlalji the Bengal situation will be straightened out.

There is a small matter about which I feel compelled to write to you. You know that my home is in Jaora and Jaora people write to me frequently. I have recently received several letters from the step-brothers of the late Nawab Iftikhar Ali Khan, complaining that they are starving. You will remember that the States Ministry last year decided the question of succession as between the sons of Nawab Iftikhar Ali Khan on his death and the third son was recognised as the successor to the gaddi and a privy purse—I do not know much—has been settled for this new Nawab Sahib.

Nawab Iftikhar Ali Khan, in his life time, used to grant allowances for the maintenance of his step-brothers. These allowances have continued, I think, for the last 50 or 60 years. I suppose that the responsibility for the maintenance of relatives and dependants is now thrown upon the new Nawab, who gets a consolidated privy purse. The stories that are conveyed to me about the present financial condition of these step-brothers are pitiful. I am informed that the question of these allowances and their payments is either before the Madhya Bharat Ministry or has been referred to the States Ministry for final settlement. I hope that final orders will soon issue so that the step-brothers may be saved from penury and privation.

I have found the heat and humidity of the last two months of Calcutta weather extremely trying, and I propose to go for a change to Kalimpong in the Darjeeling district on the 20th instant for about a fortnight. I should like so much to see you some time after your return to Delhi.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. N. Katju

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
Bombay

487

Bombay
21 September 1949

My dear Katju,

Thank you for your letter of 14 September 1949.

2. I am now feeling better and am returning to Delhi on the 25th morning.

3. Regarding the step-brothers of the late Nawab of Jaora, I am looking into the matter and will see what can be done.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Kailas Nath Katju
Governor of West Bengal
Calcutta

488

Nagpur
20 September 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am glad to find that the happy termination of the language controversy has given you satisfaction. Your letter to Satyanarayan [Sinha] was read out in the party meeting. I hope you are improving in your health and when I meet you next at Delhi I shall find you the same old Sardar.

2. The Maharaja of Bastar has come here in connection with the settlement of Dussehra celebrations and some other matters which were left pending for decision by us. I am glad to tell you that the young man has realised what his duty is and he now wishes to marry as early as possible. I have told him that I shall help him as far as possible in this, and if Sardar Sahib can help he will also help in the matter. There are, I suppose, many rajas and maharajas in Saurashtra and Rajasthan who may have good, handsome and intelligent girls of marriageable age. He is about 20 years old at present, and if a suitable girl is found I would like him settle down in married life, and this will give him sufficient idea of what his future should be. There are some questions regarding the jagir of his patrani and though I have been authorised to settle this matter finally, I have kept it pending till the Maharaja is married. At that time the question of [his] patrani's jagir will be finally settled.

3. The Government of India had proposed to nominate 17 representatives to the Provincial Legislative Assembly according to population and three members to represent special interests. But later on it was decided to give up the three special interest seats and only 17 members had to be nominated. The nominations have been seen and approved by you and the Governor-General has

nominated according to the list approved by you. There are two rajas amongst the 17 members. The Provincial Legislative Assembly was to meet on 12 September, but owing to the language controversy it had to be postponed to 5 October. Now I find that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, has fixed 6 October provisionally as the date for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. If this date is adhered to, the party meeting will take place on the 5th, at which the important question of the President of the Republic during the transition period will have to be settled. It is a very important question on which depends the entire future of Bharat, at least so long as you and I live. In the Draft Constitution, Dr. [B. R.] Ambedkar and Alladi Krishnaswami have given in the footnote that in their opinion the President of the Constituent Assembly should continue to be the President of the Republic during the transition period. I wholeheartedly agree with this and I think in the best interest of the country, it would only be just and fair that Dr. Rajendra Prasad should be there. This is the opinion of the majority of the members of the Congress Assembly Party, and I think it will meet with the unanimous approval of the country if he is allowed to remain as the President of the Republic. I am bringing this to your notice from now so that nothing may be done to shut us out from pushing the proposal in the party meeting.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Bombay

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New Delhi
26 September 1949

My dear Ravishankar,

Thank you for your letter of 20 September 1949.

I returned to Delhi yesterday and already find myself faced with a plethora of problems.

I am glad to know that the Maharaja of Bastar has come round. We can discuss the question of a suitable bride for him when we meet.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Government of Central Provinces & Berar
Nagpur

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TELEGRAM

Bombay
4 August 1950

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

HAVE JUST ARRIVED IN BOMBAY AND HAVE REASSUMED CHARGE AS
RAJPRAMUKH. TRUST YOU WELL. KINDEST REGARDS.

JAMSAHEB

491

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
6 August 1950

His Highness Jamsaheb
Rajpramukh Saurashtra
Care Taj
Bombay

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF FOURTH. DELIGHTED TO KNOW
YOU HAVE RETURNED. HOPE YOU ARE NOW BETTER AFTER OPERATION.
LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING YOU HERE. KINDEST REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

3 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
27 June 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have already forwarded to you a letter which I received from the President, Dayanand Dalit Uddhar Mandal Punjab, Hoshiarpur, regarding the entry of the Scheduled Castes in the electoral roll as Sikhs in PEPSU. Herewith I am forwarding copy of a telegram and a letter which I have received from the General Secretary, PEPSU Depressed Classes League, Patiala, on the same subject. I hope you will take necessary action in the matter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jagjivan Ram

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE I

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM DATED 25 JUNE 1949 FROM MR. HARCHAND SINGH,
GENERAL SECRETARY, PEPSU DEPRESSED CLASSES LEAGUE,
PATIALA, TO SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM, LABOUR MINISTER, NEW DELHI

MEMBER OF DEPRESSED CLASSES IN MOST CASES NOT MENTIONED AS SUCH IN THE ELECTORAL ROLLS BEING PREPARED IN THE PEPSU. INSTEAD THEY ARE ENTERED AS HINDUS OR SIKHS. RIGHT OF RESERVATION OF SEATS GRANTED TO DEPRESSED CLASSES IS THUS NEGATED. IN PATIALA PROPER AND OTHER PARTS OF THE UNION THIS WRONG IS BEING DONE ON A LARGE SCALE TO INTERESTS OF DEPRESSED CLASSES. PRAY INVESTIGATE AND ORDER IMMEDIATELY REDRESS OF THIS WRONG.

ENCLOSURE II

Depressed Classes League
Patiala & East Punjab States Union
Patiala
24 June 1949

The Prime Minister
Patiala & East Punjab States Union
Patiala

Dear Sir,

I am constrained to bring to your notice that notwithstanding the Government high sounding promises to ameliorate the plight of the Backward Classes in the PEPSU nothing practical is being done in this connection and the condition of the Harijans is deteriorating daily.

It is gathered that an Advisory Committee to help the Department for Backward Classes has been formed and some members of the Backward Classes have been taken on this committee at the discretion of the Government by-passing the only representative body of the Backward Classes, the Depressed Classes League, PEPSU, directly under the patronage of Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, Government of India.

The Depressed Classes League with its hand at the pulse of the Backward Classes in the PEPSU is the only body that can have any authoritative voice over this thorny subject of the Depressed Classes. The Government can well bypass this body but only at the risk of meddling with the whole problem.

It is therefore requested that the Advisory Body for the uplift of the Backward Classes should be formed with the consultation of their representative body, the Depressed Classes League, as the nomination of individuals without any representative character would reduce the Advisory Committee to a farce.

Hope this will receive due consideration at your hands in the interest of the Backward Classes.

Yours faithfully,
Harchand Singh
General Secretary

Copy to:
The Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram
Labour Minister
New Delhi

Patiala
20 September 1949

My dear Sardar Patel,

Menon desired that I may send to you a memorandum on the language question about which some agitation is going on here, and await to hear from you before finalising the matter. This memorandum is placed below and further action will be taken after I have known your views on the subject. I could not send it earlier as I was a little busy in connection with Panditji's visit to Faridkot.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
G. S. Rarewala

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

ENCLOSURE
THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN PEPSU

subjects, except language, other than Punjabi, which should continue to be taught by the direct method.

3. Every teacher of Punjabi, if not already qualified, should be required to pass a special departmental examination to be arranged by the Director of Public Instruction or any university examination in Punjabi."

Consequently from 1942 a uniform scheme, for making Punjabi compulsory gradually in all classes of boys up to the VIII class, was introduced. According to this scheme Punjabi became compulsory up to the V class in the districts of Patiala, Bassi, Barnal and Sunam, including the Narwana Tehsil in 1942, and up to the VIII in 1945. In Narnaul and Kohistan districts it became compulsory up to the IV class in 1944, and up to the VIII class in April 1948.

By a subsequent Ijlas-i-Khas Order No. 528/31-A.R., dated 25-5-1945, Punjabi was made compulsory for all the girls schools to the same extent.

Sufficient ground having thus been prepared, Punjabi was made the medium of instruction in Patiala State by a circular of the DPI issued in June 1948. On the formation of the Union the rules and regulations in force in Patiala State became operative in the entire Union. To ensure uniformity of teaching, the DPI issued a circular in December 1948, making Punjabi the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject throughout the Union from the year 2007 Bk.

Sir Jai Lal, Adviser to His Highness the Rajpramukh and Member in charge of Education, stated in a proposal of his that "Punjabi in Gurmukhi script shall be the medium of instruction up to the matriculation standard, except in the Hindi portion of Kohistan district, Mahendragarh district and Jind Tehsil of Sangrur district, where Hindi in Devanagari script shall be the medium of instruction in the first three classes and Punjabi shall be the second compulsory language from IV class. In the remaining parts of the Union, Hindi in Devanagari script shall be introduced as compulsory language for the IV class."

The Government after giving full consideration to all the different aspects of the question—the most prominent being how to keep the people of the Union united as one people culturally and linguistically and to make as few exceptions as possible—demarcated the Punjabi-speaking and the Hindi-speaking areas and gave their proper positions as mother-tongues to Punjabi and Hindi. In the Punjabi-speaking area, which is the main portion of the Union, Punjabi has been made the medium of instruction and a compulsory subject from I to VIII class, with Hindi as a compulsory subject from IV class onwards; and in the Hindi-speaking area, which is a very small portion of the Union, Hindi has been made the medium of instruction throughout and Punjabi as a compulsory subject from IV class onwards.

As regards courts, Hindi has been made the additional court language in the Hindi-speaking area.

This is as it should be in the case of a State where the regional language has been accepted as the medium of instruction and justice has been done to the language of the minority. It would be clear from what has been stated above that the Pepsu Government has made no departure from the policy settled before the inauguration of the Union, except in this that some portion of the erstwhile Patiala State, consisting of Kandaghat, Narnaul and Mohindergarh Tehsils, has been made over to Hindi, although Punjabi had been used there for long as a compulsory subject. The Tehsil of Narwana has been included in the Punjabi area, because it has never been linked with Mohindergarh but has been a part of Sunam which is pronouncedly a Punjabi area.

The policy of the Pepsu Government is based on the previous decisions taken by the erstwhile Patiala Government in an atmosphere of comparative calm and is therefore more sound, being purely secular, non-communal and continuous of tradition. We proceed on the assumption that Punjabi being the language of the region, all administrative work and school education should be carried on through it. It is not the language of any one community but of all the communities living in the region, with the exception of a small area which is to be treated separately. We believe that religion or politics may divide people, but the only link that can join them and let them grow as an organic unit is their common language, which reflects their peculiar genius and, as the fountain-spring of their music, their folk-songs, their proverbs and idioms, and the whole spread-out of their literature, commands the allegiance of their inner souls and makes them feel like one. If this policy is not adhered to or modified materially then there is a danger of the people being divided up educationally and culturally into two hostile groups, one standing for Hindi and the other for Punjabi. And the pity of it is that these groups will be formed in every village and every town, where they will develop themselves as two separate nations.

The Government of PEPSU is determined to avert this danger at all costs, and to do nothing that would undermine the centuries-old solidarity of our people and would encourage the formation of mutually exclusive groups of culture. We hope the Government of India will appreciate our standpoint and let us pursue this policy as a noble experiment of keeping our people together and helping them to develop themselves as an organic growth towards a common destiny.

New Delhi
6 October 1949

My dear Sardar Gian Singh,

Thank you for your letter dated 20 September 1949 regarding the linguistic problem in PEPSU.

2. Since then you have had a discussion with the officers of the States Ministry. The result of the discussion has been communicated to me. I think, for the time being, we can see how the conclusions reached work.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala
Prime Minister, PEPSU
Patiala

Bombay
9 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have seen the minutes and decisions of the Cabinet meeting held on Saturday, 6 August 1949, relating to the amendments proposed by us for incorporation in the new Constitution in so far as the provisions relating to the States are concerned. I am rather upset by the decisions relating to the privy purse payments, guarantees in respect of rights and privileges given to the rulers and regarding entries in the Legislative List (in so far as this matter relates to the Indian States Forces). What I learnt from Vellodi about the trend of discussions in the Cabinet not only distressed me, but filled me with apprehensions and anxiety. I could not imagine that, after such repeated discussions over the question of privy purse, after our taking approval from the Cabinet to the many proposals for merger and integration which we put forward to the Cabinet from time to time and after solemn agreements having been reached between the Governor-General and the

Rulers on these matters, there should have been so much misapprehension and even ignorance. Every decision and every policy that we have pursued in regard to States has not only been approved but acclaimed by the Assembly whenever any matter concerning the States has come up. It is, therefore, difficult for me to understand that my Cabinet colleagues should shirk the responsibility which devolves on them to ensure that all these agreements and arrangements are fully honoured not only by ourselves but by successor Governments and that they should regard a constitutional guarantee in regard to the continuance of privy purse as being unpopular in the Assembly.

2. The question of merger and integration of States has been discussed in the Assembly a number of times. White Papers have been circulated among Members. During the last Budget session, we circulated a memorandum covering practically the whole field of our arrangements with the Rulers and the States and we specially dealt therein with the question of privy purse, pointing out the savings which we had effected as a result of these settlements. The covenants between the Rulers and the Governor-General have been placed on the table of the House. As far as I remember, there was seldom any reference to the privy purse settlements except probably a passing one. These arrangements were generally applauded as eminently satisfactory ones. Frankly speaking, therefore, I cannot understand the fears regarding their acceptance by the Assembly.

3. As regards the privy purse, I have said a number of times in the Assembly, and we have made it clear in our published documents that the privy purse fixed by us makes a reduction of several crores in the expenditure which used to fall on the revenues of these States, i.e. the Civil List and other allowances of Rulers. We have also to remember that the total expenditure on privy purse running to about 2 or 3 crores is comparatively an insignificant price to pay for the consolidation and unity of India which we have achieved. We have entered into solemn undertakings and agreement with the Princes about the privy purse, and I do not think that we can, in good conscience, leave it to future Parliaments to do as they like with these amounts. These are commitments which have been consecrated by the signature of the Head of the State on behalf of the people of India with the full approval of the Cabinet, and it is our moral duty to ensure that these commitments are fully honoured both now and in future. This can only be possible if we guarantee these

payments under the constitutional provisions. Any other alternative would not be satisfactory and would not satisfy those who have accepted in good faith our pledges and our promises. We are, therefore, in honour bound to include these guarantees in the Constitution.

4. As regards the privileges and rights conceded to the Rulers, these are again part of the same commitments and carry the same moral obligation on our part. I think it would be correct to say that the Princes attach considerable significance to these rights and privileges. It is a question of self-respect and honour for them, and I do not think that having taken from them everything else that mattered, we should show any niggardly attitude in these matters.

5. You will recall that we had given the Rulers our assurances that they could continue to remain as they were except for accession of three subjects. There was, therefore, nothing to compel or induce them to merge their identity. If they had chosen to keep out of these arrangements, they could have continued to draw the heavy Civil Lists they used to draw before and in a large number of cases the Rulers could have enjoyed unrestricted use of their State revenues. Few people have an idea of the numerous ways in which they had squandered away the revenues of the State. There were, in fact, in a large number of cases, no limits to their privy purse and if they had continued to rule a few years more they would have squandered away a considerable amount of the country's wealth. There were a few honourable exceptions, but you could count them on the tip of your fingers. Thus the capacity for mischief on the part of the Rulers in this respect was far greater than one could imagine. Even now the amount of harm that could be caused to the country by going back on our solemn promises would be very substantial. You may also be aware that in the Deccan States even under the award of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Shankarrao Deo, the scales of privy purse were more liberal than ours. In many cases where the Civil Lists were fixed under agreements between Rulers and the representatives of the people, the amounts settled were higher than those which we have now given. Lastly, even the amounts which we have settled, where they exceed 10 lakhs, are liable to be reduced to the latter figure after the life time of the present incumbents.

6. We have also to consider these two matters from another point of view. Under the draft Constitution, agreements reached

with Rulers prior to the coming into force of the new Constitution would not be justiciable. The covenants under which we have guaranteed the privy purse and the rights and privileges of Rulers will not, therefore, be within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. They will be subject virtually to the rule of Paramountcy, to which they are subject now. In these circumstances, a constitutional guarantee is the only thing that can provide some sort of a safeguard for the Princes. The only alternative would be to make these agreements justiciable. But if we did so, you and I, and even successor Governments, will have a perpetual cause for regret. I would, therefore, once more urge upon you and my Cabinet colleagues to reconsider the matter and to accept our proposals which had been reached in full agreement with the Drafting Committee. If the Chairman of the Drafting Committee or any of my colleagues feels any hesitation in sponsoring these proposals before the Constituent Assembly, I am quite prepared to interrupt my stay in Bombay and to come to Delhi merely for the sake of sponsoring these proposals. I consider it a matter of faith and honour, and I feel it would be moral cowardice on my part if I refrained from discharging this obligation.

7. Regarding the Indian State Forces, it would not be proper to make a transitional provision, again because the provision in the covenants are by no means transitional. What we hope to do is gradually to persuade the Princes to integrate their forces fully with the Indian Army. Even within the course of one or two years, we have succeeded in substantially reducing the position of the Princes in relation to the State Forces. In another one or two stages, we may be able to integrate them fully, but for obvious reasons it is not possible for us to say so. Otherwise, we would be charged with breach of faith. Making a transitional provision, such as the Cabinet has suggested, would bring about the same position which we wish to avoid, namely, the Princes will feel that we are departing from the arrangements which had been solemnly agreed to in the covenants, and even from now on, we are contemplating their termination in the period of transition. On the other hand, it would be much more appropriate to retain the item in the list in accordance with the provisions of the covenants, and subsequently allow it in actual practice to fall into desuetude. If the pace is as fast as we expect, it may even be possible to do away with this entry under the easier means of amendments to the Constitution provided for the first five years.

8. I hope you will appreciate the depth of feeling and the mental strain under which I have written this letter. I would be grateful

if you would kindly read it to my Cabinet colleagues so that they may be able to appreciate the same. In the meantime, I am asking Menon to prepare a detailed note relating to these three matters and request the Cabinet to reconsider their attitude on these matters.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter of 9 August about incorporating in the new Constitution various decisions relating to privy purse payments and guarantees in respect of rights and privileges of the rulers etc.

I do not think there was any desire on the part of the Cabinet to upset any undertaking taken on behalf of Government. The Cabinet was, however, a little surprised and taken aback by the fact that these privy purse payments, free of income-tax, were for perpetuity. I confess that I had not realised this fact of perpetuity before. I am not sure in my own mind if any Government is capable of guaranteeing any payment in perpetuity. I doubt if this kind of thing has been done elsewhere except, perhaps, very rarely. It does not seem to me realistic because it is hardly possible, even through a constitution, to tie down the future in this way.

Nevertheless, because of the assurances given by Government, we have to abide by them, whatever the future might do. The practical aspect of this was that an inclusion of this long list of payments, free of tax and for perpetuity, in the Constitution would undoubtedly give rise to long and bitter debate in the party and in the Assembly. Public attention will be drawn to it in India and abroad. Whatever the ultimate result of voting, this debate will not be good from the point of view of either the Government or the Princes. The Princes would probably be bitterly criticised and they will feel that their position in regard to these guarantees was not very secure in spite of the constitution containing them.

Looking at the temper of the party, I am rather doubtful if they would pass them as such. If they pass them, it would be by a fairly narrow majority.

The alternative is a specific article in the Constitution guaranteeing payment etc., of all obligations entered into by the Government in regard to the Princes etc. Without giving a list of all these, I think that this course would very largely meet your point of view and certainly it will be accepted as a fulfilment of our present duty to the Princes. It would avoid that particular publicity and bitter debate which a full list is sure to cause.

I have discussed this matter with a number of leading Members of the Constituent Assembly and all of them felt that giving a full list in the Constitution would make matters very difficult.

Anyhow we shall certainly discuss this matter fully in Cabinet and with Rajaji who, I understand, has had a talk with you. We shall not come to any final decision without reference to you. I do not want you interrupt your rest and treatment and rush back to Delhi for this matter. We shall hold it up for the present and meanwhile will communicate with you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

497

Bombay
16 August 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 11 August 1949.

I have also seen the minutes of the Cabinet Meeting on the same subject. So far as I am concerned, if there is a provision in the Constitution honouring the guarantees and obligations which we have incurred, that would serve my purpose. At the same time, I do not see how we can avoid bringing these facts to the notice of the party. The party might well ask us to enlighten it on the nature and extent of the obligations which we are honouring. We shall then have to reveal these details. My object in saying this is not to emphasise that these details should be mentioned in the Constitution. Actually in that matter I agree that it would be unnecessary to do so, but my purpose is only to say that we

shall have to face the party on this issue, whether we like it or not.

Binding Government in perpetuity is by no means a novel thing. Many agreements are entered in the name of Government and its successors, which means binding ourselves in perpetuity.

It has been a very sad experience to me to have spend the Independence anniversary away from you. I know that, in these critical times, my place is by your side. I only hope and pray that the period of my absence from Delhi would be as short as possible. I was particularly unhappy when I heard about the refugees bothering you in such an unseemly manner. It is a disgrace to all of us and quite contrary to the very elements of decency in public life. I wish I were in Delhi at the time to share your burden. You have treated these refugees with much greater consideration than they deserved.

I have had a talk with [K. M.] Munshi about the compensation clause. Theoretically, Rajaji's position is correct, in that the Supreme Court would not like the idea of being dragged in before legislation is enforced. I have, therefore, told Munshi that the alternative draft which he brought would be adequate. There is still a certain amount of discrimination against the zamindari property, but that we could justify on the ground that this abolition of zamindari is either a fact already or is going to be a fact in the near future. It is necessary to ensure that whatever has been done is not undone on technical grounds. Apart from this, we can also contend that the zamindars are only intermediaries and all their rights in land flow from the recognition of their status as such by the State. The land belongs to the State, and therefore, the zamindars are not entitled to full rights of and compensation for ownership. I think, if put in this way, there will not be any difficulty in the party, particularly now, when lands other than zamindari are outside the scope of this discriminatory treatment.

Iengar, when he was here, discussed with me the proposals regarding the services and the Public Service Commission. The proposals regarding the Services were approved by the Cabinet long ago. They are, in so far as the Secretary of State's Services are concerned, the logical consequence of the specific agreement which we have entered into with His Majesty's Government, and the only way in which we can implement that agreement is by having constitutional guarantees. At one stage, you thought that we might reduce the emoluments of the Services, particularly of

the higher posts. This, I am afraid, can be achieved by voluntary agreements rather than by any imposition, which would open us to the charge of breach of faith on our past commitments. I hope, therefore, there would be no difficulty in regard to the Services. The objection to leaving it to Parliament are quite obvious. Parliament can make or unmake laws, whereas it is not so easy to interfere with constitutional provisions.

As regards the Public Service Commission, the Cabinet had come to some decisions. The Drafting Committee's proposals mean some departure from those decisions, inasmuch as the draft provisions specify the tenure of the Members of the Public Service Commission and the procedure for removal, resignation, etc., which, according to the Cabinet decision, should have been left to parliamentary legislation. However, as the articles are drafted, I think we need have no objection, because the Constitution gives us power to suspend a Member pending an enquiry and provides for a judicial enquiry.

Golwalker came and called on me today. I had a general talk with him, explaining to him what the pitfalls were which the RSS should avoid in the interests not only of itself, but of the country at large. I particularly emphasised completely eschewing destructive methods and adopting a constructive role, and warned him against the suicidal policy of the Savarkar group, of which Godse [Gandhi's assassin] was the exponent. I found him quite receptive and full of understanding. I have a feeling that he will not give us any trouble and will now adapt himself to the new requirements.

I wonder if you would be coming this side at all during my stay here, but if you can get away and come here, it would be so nice. I know you must be troubled with many things, as I am troubled here. In my case, there is a further accentuating circumstance, namely, the distance from the actual scene in which events are being shaped. Perhaps, a mutual exchange of ideas would set the minds of both of us at ease.

With loving regards,

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

New Delhi
18 August 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This morning I had a long discussion with H.E. about Section 24. You might have been aware by this time what happened in the party meeting where I was asked to preside. The formula which was agreed to by Kher, Munshi, Pant and others was split into three and the three principles underlying that compromise were agreed to. There was a very close voting. Although it seemed that it was an end of it yet the matter has been continually agitating all of us. *It is not fair to make a distinction between two kinds of properties.* However, H.E. informed me today that he has evolved a formula which is practically the original draft in the Draft Constitution except for the word "payment." This formula makes compensation justiciable in case of all properties; no distinction is made between zamindari property and other property. H.E. told me that Munshi and Dr. Ambedkar were agreeable. As Pant was not here, it is not known what attitude he will take. Anyway, I should like to know exactly your view about this formula. Your general views are perfectly known to me and I have been pressing the same in my own way.

In the Cabinet there was a long discussion about privy purses. I should say there was complete agreement to honour the pledges and assurances given by you in the various governments. The difficulty that was felt by some was whether that guarantee should be in the Constitution and in such a detailed manner as was sought in the note prepared by the States Ministry. Subsequent development was also reported to the Cabinet by the Prime Minister which included your letter and his reply to the same. Two days ago I had some conversation with Mr. V. P. Menon and he is also very keen; in fact he thinks it to be a matter of high principle that pledges must be guaranteed in the Constitution. While we were discussing this, H.E. was also present. I understood him to accept a general guarantee in the Constitution to the effect that all assurances given in connection with the integration of States should be honoured and should be binding. I think this should be an acceptable compromise. The temper of the

party is more socialistic than the Socialists themselves, although there is an element of perversity in this but this is the position. I am determined to do whatever is right although it may not be popular with the party. I have written this to you for the purpose of information. I know your views and as already stated, they will be given expression to in my own way whenever there is a necessity to do so.

I did not want to write this and trouble you but I thought that a couple of minutes from your rest is a justifiable encroachment for me. I read from the papers that a number of people come to see you. Please avoid this. I am getting news about your health, almost daily from Satya Narain Sinha.

With regards and pranam to Maniben,

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Bombay

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Bombay
22 August 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letters of 18 and 20 August 1949.

I am glad to know that you take the same view as I do on the question of compensation. I have received a copy of the formula adopted at the meeting from both Jawaharlal and Rajaji. I have already made my position clear in the message which I sent to the party members. The Government House formula meets my views much better than the compromise formula, but I am doubtful whether Pantji will agree.

As regards privy purses, I was told that your views were somewhat different, but am glad to know that at least on the question of fulfilling the undertakings and obligations incurred, they coincide with mine. I am afraid the party seems to be suffering from the absence of any clear guidance. There seems to be some confusion due to conflicting views, and I am told that, even where Cabinet decisions have been reached, our Cabinet colleagues or even Ministers of State do not feel bound by them. Comment is needless.

I am deeply touched by the kind sentiments you have expressed in your letter of 20 August. I cannot tell you how very concerned I feel at being in Bombay, while such important decisions are being taken in the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi. But God fulfils Himself in many ways.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. N. V. Gadgil
Minister of Works, Mines & Power
Government of India
New Delhi

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

NOTES OF MR. V. P. MENON OF THE STATES MINISTRY ON HIS TALKS WITH THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL

Soon after my arrival in Bhopal on the 23rd about lunchtime, I had a meeting with H.H., the Nawab, who is now advised by Sir Joseph Bhore and Dr. [M. R.] Jayakar. We went over the entire ground covered earlier, and H.H. gave me revised drafts of the agreement and the collateral letter. After a general discussion I returned to the guest house with the drafts. It was nearly 6 p.m. when I left H.H. In other words, I was with him from about 12.30 to 6—nearly six hours of gruelling time. DSI went through the drafts in the first instance and I attach a copy of his note as an appendix.

I met H.H. again on the 24th at 10.30 a.m. for an uninterrupted session which lasted till 5.30. *This has completely exhausted me. H.H. is now quite familiar with his own case.* The division between the State and private property is clearcut; in fact, H.H. is very meticulous about this. Before I went to see H.H. I had a talk with Dr. Jayakar on the general provisions in the agreement, and Dr. Jayakar agreed to revise them in the light of my suggestions. As before, at the meeting with H.H., we covered the same ground over again and H.H. made many suggestions for amendment. Subsequently, Sir Joseph Bhore and Dr. Jayakar also joined in the discussions. After lunch we discussed the other details which will all form the subject matter of letters. I asked H.H. what was his idea in regard to the date of handing over of the administration. He told me that his plan was to hand over the State on 1 May 1949 and that he intended to go to Europe thereafter. I think the date is reasonable. I asked H.H. as to what sort of announcement he would like us to make in the event of any question in the Assembly. H.H. suggested that a reply that satisfactory arrangements had been reached between the Government of India and H.H. of Bhopal and that an announcement on the subject would be made in the first week of May would probably meet the case.

Then I raised with H.H. the possibility of a railway strike on 9 March 1949. He told me that he was quite capable of managing it provided the Sardar trusts him. He did not ask for anything more than that he should be trusted. He said that he was not going to do anything inimical to the interests of the Indian Dominion. I pointed out to him that if he took stern measures against Communists, propaganda would be started against him that in the guise of arresting Communists he was really arresting Congressmen. I put it to him that

he had had experience of this kind of propaganda before. He told me that so far as the RSS were concerned the Government of India had let him down. He had now released everybody except eight or nine who are Government servants and against whom charges have been framed; and they were going to be tried in the ordinary course. These people were not arrested during the trouble. In any case, I suggested to him that it would be preferable if somebody from the Centre were to come and help H.H. He was reluctant to accept this suggestion; the most he would ultimately agree [to] was that if any official were sent by the Government of India unofficially H.H. would be prepared to take his advice. I told him that our object was to make this official responsible for the measures adopted and relieve H.H. from what he might represent as malicious propaganda; but H.H. said that he would take the entire responsibility in the matter. He added that if anybody were sent now his whole position would be misunderstood, especially by the Muslims. I could appreciate the force of this argument though I did not say so to him. In the end, I told him that I would send Mr. Pillai, our Regional Commissioner in Rajasthan, on tour for a week or so, so that he can take stock of the situation and give us a report. I also feel that if Mr. Sanjevi could visit Bhopal without attracting any notice and discuss matters with H.H. it would be helpful.

Though he felt that it would be possible for him to control the Muslims, H.H. expressed some apprehension that a situation might arise when they might get out of hand. In that case he wanted the help of the Government of India to maintain law and order.

Then we discussed his privy purse. As I mentioned before, there is at present a clear distinction between State property and private property of the ruler except in one respect which relates to the shares held by Bhopal State and the ruler of Bhopal in the Bhopal Railway. At present, the position is that according to the Political Department's letter (copy attached) the profits attributable to the invested capital of Rs. 15 lakhs on this railway should be paid by the Imperial Bank of India at Bhopal to the personal name of the ruler and the balance, namely profits on 35 lakhs of invested capital, should be sent to the Accountant-General, Bhopal, to form part of the State revenues. H.H. quoted provisions of the relevant treaty under which he claimed that the profits on these Rs. 15 lakhs were to be treated as his personal property. I pointed out to him that our research on the subject in consultation with the Railway Ministry led us to a different conclusion. In our view only Rs. 3.75 lakhs had been invested by his great aunt and the rest of the money had been found from the Bhopal State Treasury. That being the position, all the profits except in respect of Rs. 3.75 lakhs of invested capital should be treated as State property. He then told me that this was contrary to the decision of the Political Department and claimed that the whole amount of Rs. 15 lakhs should be treated as his private property. Though I did press my argument I felt that the recognition of the Political Department had weakened my case. The net amount

which H.H. gets out of this Rs. 15 lakhs is on the average about Rs. 3 lakhs a year. I made a suggestion to him that if he were to restrict his share of the profits to Rs. 5 lakhs and allow the rest (Rs. 10 lakhs) to be taken over by the State I would be prepared to consider the question of his privy purse favourably. Then he asked me what would be the privy purse I would fix for him and said that he should not be treated less favourably than the Saurashtra rulers. The State's revenue for 47-48 has gone up to Rs. 1 crore and 40 lakhs and he must get a privy purse calculated on this. Apart from this, he emphasised the importance of Bhopal, and in view of the fact that he has not spent any State funds for the building of his palace, etc., he should be treated in a generous way. Further, he said that the State has been paying the heir-apparent Rs. 1 lakh a year. In the end a compromise was struck on the following lines:

- (a) H.H.'s privy purse for his life-time to be fixed at Rs. 10 lakhs a year; also a sum of Rs. 1 lakh to be continued to the heir-apparent till she succeeds to the gaddi, when the payment will cease.
- (b) After the present Nawab's death the privy purse will be reduced to Rs. 9 lakhs, which is the correct figure based on the revenues for 45-46.
- (c) As against this, the profits accruing on Rs. 15 lakhs invested in the Bhopal Railway, which were guaranteed by the British Government in perpetuity, will be credited to the state except in respect of Rs. 5 lakhs, which will be given to H.H. The railway being on the main line, I think this is not a bad proposition.

So far as the private property of the ruler is concerned, he has agreed to transfer many palaces and houses belonging to him to the State. His present palace is not built by Government but out of his own civil list. Similarly, his house in Chiklod is also built by him. He has purchased out of his private funds two houses in Karachi. In other respects also there is a clear division between the State and the ruler. H.H. has also got a grant of land which was given to him by his mother 25 years ago. This land is in the nature of a free grant made years ago for his maintenance and is not a jagir in the true sense of the term. To this grant he has added a little by purchases made from time to time and the total extent of the property is at present 1,000 acres. H.H. is running an experimental farm on this land under the supervision of a German horticulturist, and H.H. wanted that this land should not be confiscated. I promised that I [would] allow him to keep it for 10 years, after which period if Government wanted it they would be free to take it after paying compensation to H.H.

We have more or less finalised the Bhopal draft. I am seeing H.H. again tomorrow at 10 a.m. My plan was to go to Hyderabad in the morning, but at the Nawab's request I am postponing it till after lunch.

APPENDIX TWO

REPORT OF MR. V. P. MENON OF THE STATES MINISTRY ON HIS TALKS REGARDING THE MERGER OF BHOPAL STATE

I had further discussions with H.H. [Nawab of Bhopal] this morning. Sir Joseph Bhore was present. I mentioned to H.H. that it would be very difficult for the CG to sign the agreement and that it was the view of our Legislative Department that all such agreements should be signed by the Secretary to Government or Adviser. H.H. said that if that was the case on sentimental grounds he would give power of attorney to somebody to sign on his behalf. I told H.H. that what I was most concerned with was the result and not the form and that I saw no objection to this arrangement if the Ministry of Law agreed.

H.H. told me that he may want to take some money from the State to make some adjustments. I told him that I saw no objection provided the amount was small and the adjustments reasonable. He said it may be Rs. 4 or 5 lakhs. H.H. promised to consult me again about this when I come back.

H.H. mentioned to me about the dignity of the members of his family. I told him that there would be no difficulty in preserving the dignity, etc., of his family or his nephew and aunts. The precise form in which this should be done was a matter of administrative detail. So far as Muslim burial grounds and tombs were concerned, I told him that these would be preserved intact.

I told H.H. that the records of the State should be kept intact and transferred to us, but if he wanted copies of records in which he was interested there would be no objection to his having them.

Then he raised the question of his precedence inside the State. I told him that this would be observed.

H.H. told me that though he was not anxious to hold any durbars, etc., if he wanted to hold any he should be treated in the same way as other rulers. I agreed to this.

He mentioned to me that he had received a letter from the ruler of Narsingarh that his cheques were not allowed to be cashed by the Administrator and that his petrol coupons were not given to him. I promised to look into this matter.

H.H. mentioned to me that the IGP (Mr. Conlin, who was formerly DIG, Punjab, before partition) was due to retire in April. I told him that an extension of six months could be granted to him. He also mentioned to me about two German specialist doctors and wanted that their services should not be dispensed with.

India. Now to turn round and charge us with a breach of faith is a charge which I cannot understand and it is not right for the Sikh community—a brave community like the Sikhs—to fling these charges at us. Who were we to agree to the partition of India and partition of the Punjab if the Sikhs were opposed? We could never have done that. Because they also said that it was best in the interest of India that we should agree to partition on condition that the Punjab was partitioned—that we agreed to it. Now that is about the 1929 promise.

Then again he says about 1946. If he refers to the Minority Committee recommendations, I can understand it. I propose to explain it in detail as to what has taken place. But I don't know what he means by 1946 promise. If I can have any concrete expression of a promise given by Congress leaders, I might and if so I don't think there is any one Congressman who will go against that promise. I have not, however, understood the psychology of the Sikh leaders—some of them—who often charge everybody with breach of faith, and always complain of minorities being ill-treated.

Look at the army. Are they not very heavily over-weighted? What have we done? We are under their protection and we trust them and not a single army officer is disloyal to us. Why do you create this feeling for nothing? What is it that you want?

When the Minority Committee in the Advisory Committee passed its first decisions, I was appointed chairman and I took all the minorities with me and the decisions of the Minority Committee and the Advisory Committee were almost unanimous. This House appreciated the work of these committees and congratulated me on that. Time went on and the minorities themselves began to feel that we should reconsider our decision and, headed by the great patriotic Christian leader, they brought in a resolution that they want to give up the reservations. And what reservations? Not this petty reservation of minorities in the Services—but the big reservations in the Assemblies, both in the Centre and in the provinces.

They agreed to have joint electorates and to have nothing to do with this communal separatism. When they desired that, I called a meeting of the Minority Committee and the Advisory Committee. At their instance decisions were taken. The Sikh stand has always been that "if all minorities agreed, we are also agreeable. We do not want any special arrangement. We do not want any advantage. We are able to stand on our own legs." That was their stand throughout, in the Congress and outside the Congress.

When this resolution was brought and this question was about to be considered, the Sikh representatives of the Punjab came to me and they said that so far as the Scheduled Caste Sikhs are concerned, they should be treated separately and given the same advantage that was being given to the Hindu Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes objected to a man that

these are not Scheduled Castes, and if they are Scheduled Castes, then they are not Sikhs. Therefore, they said, "You cannot give them separate treatment. There are terrible conversions being made from the Scheduled Castes to the Sikhs for this purpose." That was their grievance. On the other side, the Sikhs said that they had converted so many and it was not by force. "They have come to our fold," they said, "and if you do not recognise these conversions, then they will all go back to the Scheduled Caste Hindus and we will lose."

Now it was against our conviction to recognise a separate Sikh caste as untouchables or Scheduled Caste, because untouchability is not recognised in the Sikh religion. A Scheduled Caste Sikh community has never been in the past recognised. But as the Sikhs began to make a grievance continuously, against the Congress and against us, I persuaded the Scheduled Caste people with great difficulty to agree to this, for the sake of peace. I persuaded the other members of the Advisory Committee on the condition, which is in writing, by the representatives of the Sikhs, that they will raise no other question hereafter.

Then in the Advisory Committee, when this question came, Sardar Ujjal Singh raised the question, "What about the Services?" I said, "Your representatives have given in writing that no other question hereafter is to be raised." Giani Kartar Singh was also in the Advisory Committee, and he got up and said, "No, we will settle it in the provinces. It is not to be raised here."

What is the use of charging the Congress with having broken promises? Do not break the promises that you have given, and do not charge others with breach of promises. If you now say, as Sardar Hukam Singh says, that these people were anxious to secure an advantage for the Scheduled Caste Sikhs and they may have agreed to this, it is a mistake; then if it is a mistake, reconsider your position, and I shall reconsider mine. Take away that concession and remove it, and you get your pound of flesh, if you want it.

What is it that you get in the Services? Even at present, what do the Sikhs do? What do other communities do? So far as the Services are concerned, for all major posts or all posts which go by competitive examinations there is no reservation on communal grounds. They go to the Public Service Commission. You are quarrelling or asking for the minor posts [of] chaprasis and clerks. Is it the Sikh position now that we have not got enough Sikh chaprasis and clerks? Are you going to raise the community in that manner? If that is so, tell me, and if you leave what you have got for the Scheduled Castes, I shall persuade the Constituent Assembly to give you what you want, but you will repent afterwards.

You say, in PEPSU it is not the arrangement. But this is not the House to hear that complaint. If there is any such complaint, send it to us. We shall consider about it. But do not go behind your pledged words

and charge other people with breach of promises or pledges. We are not the people to break pledges. Every sympathy and every consideration will be shown to the Sikh community because it is located in a particular area; it is a small community, and yet it is brave, virile and it can stand on its own against anybody. Do not break that spirit by continuously saying, "We are injured, we are helpless, we are in a minority, we are hopeless, we cannot do anything."

That kind of psychology will injure the community itself and not others, and injuring the community means injuring the nation. It is not as a representative of the majority community that I give this advice, but, as a well-wisher of the Sikh community, I advise you not to create this atmosphere by saying continually, "We are badly treated, badly treated." If you do, then it is the Sikh community that will be hurt.

When the Advisory Committee took this decision to give up reservation, we clearly understood the position and all communities clearly understood it. When the decision of the Advisory Committee came before this House for its acceptance, I made it clear that this Constitution of India, of free India, of a secular State, will not hereafter be disfigured by any provision on a communal basis. It was accepted with acclamation.

It is said that if you make any arrangements in the provinces, then the provisions of the Constituent Assembly with regard to fundamental rights will come in the way. Let me tell you, nothing comes in the way where arrangements are made by mutual agreement and without mental reservations. That provision in the fundamental rights is provided for an individual who is injured. But if you make domestic arrangements in the Punjab between community and community for the small posts, then who is going to question that? But first create an atmosphere for adjustment of such things in your province. It is the continued atmosphere of quarrel between two communities that has created distrust among them, and that creates difficulties. You will have our support and sympathy continuously in that province because that province has suffered most. It is injured and the wounds have not yet healed. It is for us all, and for you particularly to help us in healing the wounds. Therefore, let us make a united effort to raise the morale of that province, the strength of that province, which really is at the top of India, where the border is. Then you will have no complaint at all.

After all, what is the Sikh community backward in? Is it backward in trade? Is it backward in industry, or commerce or in anything? Why do you consider yourselves to be backward? Therefore, forget that psychology. If there is any injustice done, then come to us, we will see that no injustice is done.

Sardar Hukam Singh said, "We trust the present leaders. What about the future?" I say, you must have the courage to trust the future and not the

present leaders. What will happen when the present leaders are gone? Will Sardar Hukam Singh be living here? Why raise this issue? We must trust that if the present leaders go, we will have better leaders in the future. If we have trust in the future of our country, we may trust that in the future our country will produce . . . leaders who will make a name in the history of the world. We have shown it today. We will do it in the future. That is India. India produced a Mahatma in a state where slavery was rampant. He went to a country where people could not walk on the footpath, where people could not travel even in the III class with safety, where we were all treated as untouchables—even now we are treated as untouchables there. There he made a name and fame all over the world, and presented a new weapon to the world. Then he came here. Here he raised the Sikhs, the Muslims, the Hindus, Scheduled Castes, everybody. He gave us freedom. Do you think that we are going to raise the morale of our country or the reputation of our country or the fame of our country by breaking promises? No. We have all agreed that we must trust each other.

I know that the atmosphere so far as the Muslims are concerned is not quite as happy as it should be. But there are reasons for that. The Congress is not responsible for this. If there had been no partition, perhaps we would have been able to settle our differences. But there was partition. This partition, by agreement, brought about subsequent events. But, since partition, whatever is being done on the other side is having a reaction here for which we have to struggle day and night.

You do not know the immense difficulties of a secular State being governed peacefully in such conditions. Now, the world is in such a condition that we cannot take any independent action of our own accord. Even though there is injustice done, we have to wait, pause, ponder and consider, because there is an organisation known as the UNO, who day and night watch the situation all the world over and try to see how peace could be maintained. I do not wish to say anything about the work of the UNO, because I know nothing about it. But the other part of the country known as Pakistan misses no opportunity of defaming and blackmailing us all over the world, whether there is occasion for it or no occasion for it. So we have to be specially careful. They break promises and charge us with breach of faith; and yet we cannot solve it without reference to the other countries or without any regard for its reaction in other countries.

Therefore we have to be very careful. Do not add to our difficulties by creating internal difficulties in which there will be disputes between the communities. Help us and it will be to your advantage and it will be to the advantage of the whole country. You will have no cause for regret if you drop the claims for minor provisions for small minorities in regard mainly to service questions. Fight over issues beneficial to the whole country. Let us do

that. Let us prepare the ground for that. You have big interests involved in two provinces. Though the problems in Bengal are different, as in Punjab they have also certain problems. These problems can be settled not by the Centre, but by the provinces themselves. So, for God's sake, those who are interested in the well-being of the country should create a different atmosphere and not an atmosphere of distrust and discord.

My only point in coming to reply here was to meet the charge that has been levelled against the Congress. I am very sorry to hear it. Neither I nor any Congressman has done anything here in the Centre to give cause to the Sikh community to distrust us. We shall never give cause for that in spite of what you may do. Therefore for the last time in this Constituent Assembly, as responsible Members of Parliament, I appeal to you. By all means ask for what you want or what you like. But do not blame other people for your own faults. I desire now to give you this undertaking that if you still feel that the advantage that was taken from us is not worth it, you throw it away and, if you think this is better, I will give it to you. You consider the matter amongst yourselves, amongst the Sikh community and decide. But do not try to have it both ways. One section first comes and gets certain advantages and gives promises to a certain section of the community and thereafter another section comes and charges us with not having given it certain other advantages which it is anxious to have. That is not the way to do things. You may unite and decide what you want. It is not our fault if you have not done so. After all, what is it that you want? You want an insignificant thing, but granting it would mean putting a blot on the Constitution. We agreed about certain things on that day and everybody was pleased with it. Therefore be satisfied with what you have done and there will be no cause for regret.

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